

**readings
on the
school
in
society**

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readings on the school in society

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preface

However it may look to students, the school is not a cloister. The school exists in a society and is part of that society. Sometimes it is an intimate part and other times a remote and loosely attached part. The whole and the part influence each other and usually what happens in one is reflected in the other. If the school is out of touch with society, it is because the society either wants it that way or does not care enough to change the situation. If the schools are preparing students for work and living in a vanished or never-existing society, it is because the society either does not care or does not want to spend the money to train youth for modern life. During times of national emergency and labor shortages, the society usually requires that schools be more practical and in tune with the times; otherwise it is usually negligent of its youth, insisting only that reasonable order be kept in the schools. Because youth has been largely expendable in an industrial society with labor surpluses, and because youth and those who tend them have been without real social power, schools have usually been out of the mainstream of society. This, indeed, has been the most serious problem of the schools.

The relation between school and society has not been clear because the administrators and psychologists who dominate educational research have seen the schools as a closed system and have focused on the psychological aspects of learning, teaching, and the chores of administration. Sociology offers educational analysis a new perspective, one that may help to bring the schools into the mainstream of American life. Educational sociology is a large, amorphous, and essentially unformed field. The traditional concepts in the field are often not very applicable or helpful in studying the modern school. As I see it, and as I have outlined it here, the most penetrating analysis sociology can offer the schools is the study of power, the economy, social stratification, values, organization, structures within the school, and the role of research and development in these areas. These categories are applicable to the schools, the society, and the relationship between the two. Another important category, "community," has not produced enough good literature for inclusion in this volume.

It has been my intention here to include pieces which are to the point, but also lively and stimulating to the reader who would like to see some changes for the better made in the schools. The reader should know that some first-rate minds have concerned themselves with the schools; an effort has been made to include their work here for the reader's gratification.

PATRICIA CAYO SEXTON

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**readings
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schools: form and reformation

one

Education and Social Structure: Theories and Methods

JEAN FLOUD

A. H. HALSEY

The sociology of education is a vast field. Sociology deals with the whole of the society and education with everything that is learned. Together they encompass virtually all human activity. For purposes of discussion, some perimeters and priorities must be set. Halsey and Floud see the field as dealing only with educational institutions—schools, colleges, etc.—and influences on these institutions from outside. Though this boundary tends to shut out the mass media and nonschool learning, it does give us an outline of the traditional shape of the field, one which is vast in itself but which, in its focus on institutions, tempts us to neglect education that has little direct bearing on classrooms.

The authors refer to the antecedents of the sociology of education and point out new roles for schools in an industrial age. They explore the four boundaries of the field: the macrocosmic view of schools in relation to the wider social structure; the various educational institutions; the microcosmic view of social relations and the culture of the school; and the social environment impinging on the school.

Discussion of the relationship of education to social structure is at least as old as Plato and Aristotle, and is renewed at every period of crisis in social development; indeed, every landmark in political theory has its counterpart in educational theory. Since the devel-

opment of a self-conscious "sociology," a path has been opened towards the serious treatment of education as a social institution, but it has not so far been followed for any distance. In particular, the sociology of education in industrialised societies suffers from the rank heritage of philosophical and sociological confusions on which it has to build.

Of the acknowledged masters, Durkheim and Weber made the only im-

Jean Floud and A. H. Halsey, "Education and Social Structure: Theories and Methods," in *A Trend Report and bibliography, Current Sociology*, VII, No. 3 (1958), 168-174.

portant theoretical contributions to the study of education as a social institution,¹ though Thorstein Veblen contributed, in *The Higher Learning*, a brilliant practical example of the possibilities of this kind of sociology.² In a later generation, Karl Mannheim produced a unique educational message, the climax of a long tradition of politically and ideologically inspired sociological thought on education, a blend of all contributions, from Plato through Marx to Ward and Dewey with the newer fruits of the European psycho-analytic movement of the twenties and thirties of the present century.³ Yet none of these writers seems to have seen the fundamental difficulty in the analysis of education; namely, that of presenting an orderly and coherent analysis of an institution which by its nature confounds social-psychological and sociological issues, straddling as it does the psychology and the organisational structure of society.

This point was touched upon by Meyer Fortes in his account of education among the Tallensi. He states, but without developing the point further, that "the problem presented [to the social analyst] but this [educational] function of society is of an entirely different order from that presented by the

religious or economic or political system of a people. The former is primarily a problem of genetic psychology, the latter of cultural or sociological analysis."⁴ It is, of course, true that education in the broadest sense is the transmission of culture through the socialisation of individuals; every society is, in a manner of speaking, an educative society, providing for the transmission of its culture and the formation of the personalities of its members; and there is always the dual problem, at once social-psychological and sociological, of analysing these processes and the institutional framework within which they take place. But a fresh set of purely sociological problems is created as soon as educational tasks are performed by specialised agencies, since the possibility then arises that these may behave as relatively independent variables in the functioning of the social system, promoting or impeding change and producing unintended as well as intended, and dysfunctional as well as functional, consequences.

In societies at pre-industrial stages of development, what we may call the structural problems of education are either non-existent or relatively uncomplicated. Under the typical social conditions of primitive peoples there are no processes of social selection or differentiation, and therefore no problems of "organic solidarity." The educational problem really is primarily one of "genetic psychology," and well-institutionalised processes of socialisation in the family and in organised relations between the generations provide both the necessary instruction in relatively simple economic skills and induction into a homogeneous and relatively unchanging spiritual and social life.

At later, even quite advanced—

¹ E. Durkheim, *Education and Sociology*, trans. S. D. Fox (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1956); and *L'Education Morale* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1925). H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, eds. and trans., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).

² T. Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918).

³ E.g., in *Diagnosis of Our Time* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944); *Essays on the Sociology of Culture* (London: Routledge and Paul, 1956); *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952); *Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1936); and *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1940).

⁴ M. Fortes, *Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 6.

though still pre-industrial—stages of development, characterised by fairly complex patterns of division of labour and of stratification, the educational problem may still usefully be thought of in terms of genetic psychology or individual socialisation. As Weber shows, formal education in such societies is primarily a differentiating agency, preparing individuals for a particular style of life. Men are socialised into social groups having relatively stable relationships to each other. Each is educated "according to his station" and, other things being equal, consensus and integration follow. Of course, other things are not always equal. Formal education becomes an object of political dispute as newly-emerging or dissident social groups claim right of entry or the right to school their young according to their own lights. Nevertheless, the relationship between education and social structure remains in principle relatively simple until the onset of industrialism, which greatly complicates it.

This is partly because industrialism, in speeding up the rate of social change, attenuates the relations between sub-groups in the system of division of labour and thus between individuals and the wider social structure; but it is mainly, perhaps, because industrialism throws new burdens on educational institutions—the burdens of mass instruction, promotion of scientific and technological advance, occupational recruitment, and social selection. Under conditions of advanced industrialism, indeed, the economy becomes increasingly dominated by institutions of research and technological innovation, with the result that the differentiation of educational institutions and functions assumes new proportions. So much is this so that the educational system comes to occupy a strategic place as a central determinant of the

economic, political, social, and cultural character of society, and we propose using the term "technological society" to distinguish the stage of industrialisation in which these processes have developed.

In fact, the contribution of education to social persistence and development in the vast, ramshackle, and relatively atomised structures of advanced industrial societies is difficult to determine with any precision; it plays a role in relation to all aspects of social structure—demographic, economic, political, and social, as well as ideological or spiritual—and we are confronted no longer with a problem "primarily of genetic psychology" but with a problem of analysing a major institutional complex in very diverse relations with the wider structure of which it forms a part. Even the problem of "genetic psychology," which of course is not disposed of, is complicated under these circumstances by the need to answer questions about the part actually played by the formal institutions of learning in the socialisation of children and young people; and these questions cannot be answered without embarking on a far-reaching analysis of the nature and purposes of these institutions and of their internal life. In short, industrialism gives rise to—or at least, justifies—the sociology of education as a specialised field of study.

To treat the educational systems of developed societies as social institutions, asking the same questions about them in principle as one asks about other social institutions and seeking the answers in the main with the aid of similar methods, involves enquiry at various levels.

On the most general, macrocosmic level, the task is to study the educational system in its relations with the wider social structure—that is, in relation to the value system, the demog-

raphy, the economy, and the political and stratification systems, always bearing in mind its relation to tendencies for change and development in each of these fields of behaviour.

At a less general level, the social structure and functioning of the constituent groups of the system—schools, universities, etc.—must be studied; each will have its characteristic value-system, its demography, and its economic, power, and status structures, to be studied for themselves and in inter-relation. And it is worth pointing out that work at this level on the sociology of educational institutions cannot be effective unless something is known of structural relations and trends at the macrocosmic level just mentioned. These are the source of the subtle transformations of function which schools, colleges, and universities undergo without overt redirection of aim or radical reorganisation and which generate the pressures and tensions underlying and permeating their daily lives as on-going concerns.

At what may be termed the microcosmic level, the social relations inherent in, or arising out of, educational activities are studied—the social psychology of classroom and school (as, for example, social distance and modes of authority in the learning situation) and “the separate culture of the school,” as Waller⁵ aptly termed it (“*la vie scolaire*” in Durkheim’s phrase).

Finally, our attention must be directed beyond the school or university to the educational influences implicit in the social environment of pupils and teachers, supporting or frustrating the tacit and explicit educational intentions of these institutions, but extraneous to them (as in family, neighbourhood, or religious community).

⁵ W. Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932).

Thus, in primitive societies, the educational problem is that of individual socialisation in the interests of consensus and integration: and an anthropologist interested in education in these societies is concerned with relations between the generations wherever they occur, but especially within the family, and with sub-structures such as age-sets and religious fraternities carrying socialising functions. The focus of attention for the sociologist working in industrial and technological societies, however, must be on formal and specialised educational institutions. His concern is with the social forces which create and mould pedagogical aims and educational policies and the institutions in which they are embodied; and also with these institutions themselves, and with their functions as, in some measure, independent parts of a wider and changing social structure. This is the context in which he comes to the fundamental problems of social integration through the socialisation of individuals, and of persistence and development through the transmission of culture. The approach is indirect, but there is no short cut.

The sociology and the “anthropology” of education must in practice tend to be separate fields of enquiry because of the different problems and methods involved in studying, on the one hand the socialising process in primitive society, and on the other the structural relations and internal functioning of the elaborate educational provision characteristic of more developed societies. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the comparative study of education in societies at various stages of development takes on an enhanced interest and value in the light of the complexities of life in industrialised societies. Thus, a strong movement among certain, mainly American, anthropologists has been concerned to emphasise

the implications of their work in primitive societies for the study of education in developed societies.⁶

This anthropological influence on the sociology of education takes two forms, one straightforward and on the whole beneficial; the other more subtle, and on the whole harmful. The straightforward influence is exercised when anthropological findings are used as a vantage point for direct critical analysis of modern educational forms, sometimes, as in the writings of Margaret Mead on adolescence,⁷ in a way reminiscent of Durkheim's interest in the problems of moral education of the members of industrial, specialised society. The same direct influence can also be seen in studies of out-of-school influences on the formal educational process and, in particular, in community studies of education of the kind undertaken by Warner and his associates, research on social class influences on learning, and the study of education among Negroes and immigrant minority groups. On balance, this influence has been beneficial; on the one hand it has diffused, especially in educational circles, an awareness of the wide range of cultural forces impinging on the educational process both inside and outside school; and, on the other, it has inspired investigations of the subtler aspects of social processes such as selection, differentiation, and mobility.

The indirect influence is methodological in character. "Structural-functionalism" is *par excellence* the anthropologist's approach to social analysis. The notion of social equilibrium is central to this view of society, which is then regarded as a system, rather than

as a conative whole, as an entity rather than as a process—or, if a process, then as a process of a special kind in which education, for instance, is seen simply as one term of a relationship which is supposed to reproduce itself in a dynamic equilibrium. The structural-functionalist is preoccupied with social integration based on shared values—i.e., with consensus—and he conducts his analysis solely in terms of the motivated actions of individuals. For him, therefore, education is a means of motivating individuals to behave in ways appropriate to maintain the society in a state of equilibrium. But this is a difficult notion to apply to developed, especially industrialised societies, even if the notion of equilibrium is interpreted dynamically. They are dominated by social change, and "consensus" and "integration" can be only very loosely conceived in regard to them.

Thus, if we take first the problem of integration, the social anthropologist, or the sociologist working with structural-functional concepts, interprets the relation of education to society either psychologically, to mean that education makes its contribution to social cohesion through the formation of the "basic personality," or ideologically, through the inculcation of an appropriate set of common values. Yet it seems doubtful whether this notion of "integration" can be applied to the ramified, complex structures of modern industrialised societies. In any case, it is clearly easy to exaggerate both the actual and the possible contribution of formal educational institutions to consensus in these societies, whether we think in terms of the formation of basic personality or of the inculcation of a common set of values. It need hardly be said that the importance of schools and universities as agencies of socialisation in relation to the social-class and occupational structures, and thus their

⁶ G. Spindler, ed., *Education and Anthropology* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1955).

⁷ M. Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1928); and *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1930).

contribution to a shambling sort of social integration, is not in doubt; but what are we to understand by consensus in these societies? Durkheim and Mannheim both wrestled with the problem; the former had recourse to a syndicalist, the latter to a platonic-totalitarian, solution.

It seems likely that when we are dealing with the mass educational services which are a feature of modern societies, "instruction" looms larger than "education," in the broad sense of the term which is relevant to problems of personality-formation or the transmission of cultural values. Admittedly, the distinction between instruction and education must not be ridden too hard. There is evidently a point—and this is especially clear when one considers the introduction of widespread formal schooling into underdeveloped societies—beyond which one cannot instruct without educating, since the use, not to say acquisition, of certain kinds of skill and knowledge implies and requires a context of appropriate attitudes and values. The important point is that these attitudes and values may be specific and not be shared throughout the society; consensus need not take the form of adherence to a set of common values, and integration in differentiated societies need not be based on this kind of consensus.

All this is not to say that in industrial society the strictly educational problem of socialisation, of "genetic psychology," does not exist. Of course it does, and of course formal educational institutions such as schools and universities play a part in the process of socialisation. The point of these remarks is to emphasise that socialisation is by no means their only or even, in all cases, their prime function; and that in any case, whatever the intentions of teachers and policy-makers, industrialism calls into being other la-

tent and manifest social functions of educational institutions, and features of their organisation such as bureaucratisation, which may overtly or covertly overshadow, impede, or transmute their educational function. Thus, if for sociological purposes they are treated more or less exclusively in terms of their supposed contribution to individual socialisation and social cohesion, the effect is at once to over-simplify and exaggerate their independent structural role.

Structural-functionalism, it is suggested, tends to play down problems of social change, and is therefore, for this reason too, unsuitable for the analysis of modern industrial societies. But it must be admitted that even where they are not burdened by the methodological shortcomings if this approach, sociologists have not achieved any great insight into the problems of education in relation to social change.

Until the recent rise of structural-functionalism, the discussion of these problems was dominated by the American pragmatists with their off-shoots in the advocates of the community school. The belief that education can act as a direct agent of social change was central to the convictions of men like Ward and Dewey and reflected the influence on their thought of rationalism and utilitarianism (which, it may be remarked, also entered into the thinking about education of the Christian Socialists and aroused the hostility of the Marxists, who saw education simply as a major weapon in the class war). European sociologists, on the other hand, have always postulated the dependence of education on the form of social structure, regarding it as an "adaptive" institution; that is to say, they have taken a fundamentally conservative view of the social role of education.

Mannheim drew heavily on both tra-

ditions; education was for him sociology in action. His notion of "social education" was a notion of a planned educative society, based on sociological understanding of the structural needs and possibilities of a "democratic" (industrial) order and implemented with the aid of social psychology. He did not fall into the common error of supposing education to be always and inevitably either the dependent or the independent variable in social change. He had no naive belief in the powers of rational persuasion or the spread of "sweetness and light" through education; nor on the other hand would he have subscribed to the uncompromising view that education always follows and can never initiate change. He well understood that "the causes of social change are motivated acts, but the motives are shaped by changes in the conditions,"⁸ and he placed his faith in the sociological analysis of conditions and the social-psychological (educational) manipulation of motives. Nevertheless, his failure to analyse, among the conditions, the characteristic structural position of modern educational institutions, is striking; and this vital omission can no doubt be traced to his failure, also, to undertake any analysis of the part actually played by education in various social changes which would have illuminated its varying role—sometimes cause, sometimes condition, and sometimes consequence of change.

Thus Mannheim was never able decisively to raise the level of the discussion of the relation of education to social change; and this has always been lamentably low, geared to trivial and impoverished ideas of what is to be understood by social change and a crude notion of a one-sided causality. Analy-

ses of concrete examples of the bearing of education on social change are singularly hard to come by. The greater part of the relevant literature consists of hortatory and reformist tracts and treatises, opposition to which has produced only some shift of allegiance, on the same plane of rather fruitless abstraction, from belief in the force of "values" which it is supposedly the job of education to influence, to a conviction that technological innovations behave as independent social variables, bringing educational changes more or less promptly in their wake. One may search almost in vain for discussion of the unintended consequences of education, or of the social forces responsible for changes in educational values and institutions, or of the subtle transformation of function undergone by relatively stable educational institutions. And—to take a single striking example—we confront the problems of technical assistance and mass education programmes in underdeveloped societies today with virtually no understanding of the past actually played by education in economic growth; although, it is true, the social anthropologists have directed attention, for the most part in general terms, to be potentially dysfunctional consequences and to the cultural obstacles to the success of programmes of educational expansion in underdeveloped societies.

Our thesis, then, is that the weaknesses of the sociology of education are the result, in part, of the fact that too few professional sociologists have paid it detailed and systematic attention, so that the new problems raised by the development of industrialism have gone unnoticed or unexplored for their theoretical and practical implications; that the current interest of social anthropologists in education is proving, for methodological reasons, a mixed blessing; and that the field of work for

⁸ M. Ginsberg, "Social Change," *British Journal of Sociology*, IX (September, 1958), 213.

producing social change and with the needs that arise from these changes. Probably no question has received so much attention in educational discussion during the past few years as the problem of integration of the schools with social life. Upon these general matters, I could hardly do more than reiterate what has often been said.

Nevertheless, there is as yet little consensus of opinion as to what the schools can do in relation to the forces of social change and how they should do it. There are those who assert in effect that the schools must simply reflect social changes that have already occurred, as best they may. Some would go so far as to make the work of the schools virtually parasitic. Others hold that the schools should take an active part in directing social change, and share in the construction of a new social order. Even among the latter there is, however, marked difference of attitude. Some think the schools should assume this directive role by means of indoctrination; others oppose this method. Even if there were more unity of thought than exists, there would still be the practical problem of overcoming institutional inertia so as to realize in fact an agreed-upon program.

There is, accordingly, no need to justify further discussion of the problem of the relation of education to social change. I shall do what I can, then, to indicate the factors that seem to me to enter into the problem, together with some of the reasons that prove that the schools do have a role—and an important one—in *production* of social change.

One factor inherent in the situation is that the schools *do* follow and reflect the social "order" that exists. I do not make this statement as a grudging admission, nor yet in order to argue that they should *not* do so. I make it rather as a statement of a *conditioning* factor

which supports the conclusion that the schools thereby do take part in the determination of a future social order; and that, accordingly, the problem is not whether the schools *should* participate in the production of a future society (since they do so anyway) but whether they should do it blindly and irresponsibly or with the maximum possible of courageous intelligence and responsibility.

The grounds that lead me to make this statement are as follows: The existing state of society, which the schools reflect, is not something fixed and uniform. The idea that such is the case is a self-imposed hallucination. Social conditions are not only in a process of change, but the changes going on are in different directions, so different as to produce social confusion and conflict. There is no single and clear-cut pattern that pervades and holds together in a unified way the social conditions and forces that operate. It requires a good deal of either ignorance or intellectual naïveté to suppose that these changes have all been tending to one coherent social outcome. The plaint of the conservative about the imperiling of old and time-tried values and truths, and the efforts of reactionaries to stem the tide of changes that occur are sufficient evidence, if evidence be needed to the contrary.

Of course the schools have mirrored the social changes that take place. The notion that the educational system has been static is too absurd for notice; it has been and still is in a state of flux.

The fact that it is possible to argue about the desirability of many of the changes that have occurred, and to give valid reasons for deploring aspects of the flux, is not relevant to the main point. For the stronger the arguments brought forth on these points and the greater the amount of evidence produced to show that the educational

system is in a state of disorder and confusion, the greater is the proof that the schools have responded to, and have reflected, social conditions which are themselves in a state of confusion and conflict.

Do those who hold the idea that the schools should not attempt to give direction to social change accept complacently the confusion that exists, because the schools *have* followed in the track of one social change after another? They certainly do not, although the logic of their position demands it. For the most part they are severe critics of the existing state of education. They are as a rule opposed to the studies called modern and the methods called progressive. They tend to favor return to older types of studies and to strenuous "disciplinary" methods. What does this attitude mean? Does it not show that its advocates in reality adopt the position that the schools can do something to affect positively and constructively social conditions? For they hold in effect that the school should discriminate with respect to the social forces that play upon it; that instead of accepting the latter *in toto*, education should select and organize in a given direction. The adherents of this view can hardly believe that the effect of selection and organization will stop at the doors of school rooms. They must expect some ordering and healing influence to be exerted sooner or later upon the structure and movement of life outside. What they are really doing when they deny directive social effect to education is to express their opposition to some of the directions social change is actually taking, and their choice of other social forces as those with which education should throw in its lot so as to promote as far as may be their victory in the strife of forces. They are conservatives in edu-

cation because they are socially conservative and vice-versa.

This is as it should be in the interest of clearness and consistency of thought and action. If these conservatives in education were more aware of what is involved in their position, and franker in stating its implications, they would help bring out the real issue. It is not whether the schools shall or shall not influence the course of future social life, but in what direction they shall do so and how. In some fashion or other, the schools will influence social life anyway. But they can exercise such influence in different ways and to different ends, and the important thing is to become conscious of these different ways and ends, so that an intelligent choice may be made, and so that if opposed choices are made, the further conflict may at least be carried on with understanding of what is at stake, and not in the dark.

There are three possible directions of choice. Educators may act so as to perpetuate the present confusion and possibly increase it. That will be the result of drift, and under present conditions to drift is in the end to make a choice. Or they may select the newer scientific, technological, and cultural forces that are producing change in the old order; may estimate the direction in which they are moving and their outcome if they are given freer play, and see what can be done to make the schools their ally. Or, educators may become intelligently conservative and strive to make the schools a force in maintaining the old order intact against the impact of new forces.

If the second course is chosen—as of course I believe it should be—the problem will be other than merely that of accelerating the rate of change that is going on. The problem will be to develop the insight and understanding

that will enable the youth who go forth from the schools to take part in the great work of construction and organization that will have to be done, and to equip them with the attitudes and habits of action that will make their understanding and insight practically effective.

There is much that can be said for an intelligent conservatism. I do not know anything that can be said for perpetuation of a wavering, uncertain, confused condition of social life and education. Nevertheless, the easiest thing is to refrain from fundamental thinking and let things go on drifting. Upon the basis of any other policy than drift—which after all is a policy, though a blind one—every special issue or problem, whether that of selection and organization of subject matter of study, of methods of teaching, of school buildings and equipment, of school administration, is a special phase of the inclusive and fundamental problem: What movement of social forces, economic, political, religious, cultural, shall the school take to be controlling in its aims and methods, and with which forces shall the school align itself?

Failure to discuss educational problems from this point of view but intensifies the existing confusion. Apart from this background, and outside of this perspective, educational questions have to be settled *ad hoc* and are speedily unsettled. What is suggested does not mean that the schools shall throw themselves into the political and economic arena and take sides with some party there. I am not talking about parties; I am talking about social forces and their movement. In spite of absolute claims that are made for this party or that, it is altogether probable that existing parties and sects themselves suffer from existing confusions and

conflicts, so that the understanding, the ideas, and attitudes that control their policies, need re-education and re-orientation. I know that there are some who think that the implications of what I have said point to abstinence and futility; that they negate the stand first taken. But I am surprised when educators adopt this position, for it shows a profound lack of faith in their own calling. It assumes that education has nothing or next to nothing to contribute; that formation of understanding and disposition counts for nothing; that only immediate overt action counts and that it can count equally whether or not it has been modified by education.

Before leaving this aspect of the subject, I wish to recur to the utopian nature of the idea that the schools can be completely neutral. This idea sets up an end incapable of accomplishment. So far as it is acted upon, it has a definite social effect, but that effect is, as I have said, perpetuation of disorder and increase of blind because unintelligent conflict. Practically, moreover, the weight of such action falls upon the reactionary side. Perhaps the most effective way of re-inforcing reaction under the name of neutrality, consists in keeping the oncoming generation ignorant of the conditions in which they live and the issues they have to face. This effect is the more pronounced because it is subtle and indirect; because neither teachers nor those taught are aware of what they are doing and what is being done to them. clarity can develop only in the extent to which there is frank acknowledgment of the basic issue: Where shall the social emphasis of school life and work fall, and what are the educational policies which correspond to this emphasis?

Some Educational Attitudes and Poses

SIDNEY HOOK

In an age of vast and highly specialized organization, formal education has grown apart from the rest of society, detached and, to the lament of its inmates, often seriously out of touch with life outside the school walls. During the lengthening periods when youth, especially untrained youth, have been superfluous in the economy, they have been detained for long stays in these semidetached institutions. Indeed, schools have even been estranged from the intellectual life of the nation, which has in its turn often been estranged from the life of the society.

Sidney Hook, philosopher and associate of John Dewey, notes that American intellectuals during this century have been "profoundly uninterested" in American education. He identifies some of the political and ideological sources of such indifference (along with malpractices of some Dewey "disciples") and sees in current events the possibility of a future engagement of intellectuals in the schools.

The attitude of American intellectuals towards education is a subject of considerable complexity. I cannot begin to do justice to the theme in these desultory and largely autobiographical remarks. There are different kinds of intellectuals, and there have been changes over the years both in their degree of concern and in the causes of their lack of concern with American education. The term "education" in its comprehensive sense embraces much more than formal schooling or pedagogical activity on all levels, but I shall use it in this latter, restricted sense. I am confident that some day a scholarly work will appear which will explore with the latest tools of research, and hopefully with good judgment, the chief facets of this vast question. My reflection on the subject will be

Sidney Hook, "Some Educational Attitudes and Poses," *Harvard Educational Review*, 36, No. 4 (1966), 496-504.

casual and impressionistic, part of the materials to be evaluated.

By and large in the half century during which I have observed the intellectual scene, I have found American intellectuals profoundly uninterested in the nature of American education, its problems, controversial issues and conflicting philosophies. I use the paradoxical expression "profoundly uninterested" to suggest an awareness of their lack of interest, a willingness to remain unconcerned despite efforts to arouse their interest. During the twenties, American education in all its aspects was damned and dismissed by many American intellectuals, especially the literary intellectuals, as part of the culture of the "booboisie," as the appropriate institutional breeding grounds for the generation of George Babbitt. American democracy itself, which had put Coolidge, Harding, and Hoover at the helm, was contemptuously charac-

terized as "the dictatorship of the booboisie," a phrase coined, I believe, by Mencken, who was to end as an even more bitter critic of the Roosevelt era than of the decade of normalcy.

The hostility to the externalism, commercialism, nationalism, and isolationism of American life was automatically extended to American education conceived as an integral part of popular culture. It wasn't necessary to be familiar with what American educators wrote and with the actual practices of the school—the impact of scientific psychology was increasing—to dismiss American education with some off-hand denigrating remarks. It was the culture and education of Europe which were exalted, again without much understanding of the actual character of European schooling and its institutional structure. Very few Americans knew that above the elementary levels, European education was an education of and for an élite, and that if a similar system had prevailed here many of the American intellectuals who admired it from afar would not have been eligible for a higher education. They were content to believe that the culture of Paris, centered in the Academy and the Left Bank, was the culture of France, and the culture of France, the culture of Europe.

This invidious and absurd contrasting of American and European education was until recently a constant feature in the attitude of American intellectuals, the writers and critics, whose concern with large and general ideas was not analytical but predominantly personal, social, and political. These were intellectuals who did not take ideas apart. They considered them primarily as "expressions" of social forces, sometimes of personality, and later as weapons in political struggles. *The Partisan Review* was the most influential of the periodicals which

served, so to speak, as house organs of the intellectuals. But I do not recall its publishing any article *strictly* on American education except one by the German emigré writer, Hannah Arendt. This was a lecture she delivered at the University of Bremen which began, "I do not know anything about American education." What she said proved it. My point is not that her article should not have been published but that a contribution by an American educator on this theme would have been scorned. Haughty ignorance of American conditions need not deter European intellectuals from talking about America. They can always find an eager and respectful audience among American intellectuals. (At the time of the Little Rock riots, Hannah Arendt defended the rights of parents to send their children to segregated schools, white or black, and asserted that the basic deprivation of Negro freedom in the U.S. was laws forbidding intermarriage—a subject which was and still is of the lowest order of concern to Negroes in their struggle for civil rights. I mention this only as evidence of unfamiliarity with the American scene.)

Nor was the situation very different during the thirties when many American intellectuals were caught up in the movement of social protest. This was the decade in which a considerable group repudiated social reform as too superficial a remedy for the crisis of American society. They regarded the legislative reforms of the New Deal as utterly inadequate, as comparable to slapping a fresh coat of paint on a house about to collapse from dry rot. Yet for all their espousal of the cause of social revolution, they were singularly indifferent to the character of education in the revolutionary society about to burst on the world. They ignored—most of them were not even aware of—the interesting controversies

beginning to rage in the philosophy of education, and the problems of theory and practice engaging professional educators. The latter were regarded with unconcealed disdain as pedagogical bores and hacks, and, with the rare exception of a few who had made contributions to other fields, no more qualified to be considered intellectuals than the neighborhood physicians.

The intellectuals talked, wrote, and cheered revolution, and encouraged those who could to dramatize, paint, and sing it. But except for a handful whose critical attitude soon isolated them, they *thought* very little about revolution. They left their "thinking" to the leaders of the Communist Party and their spokesmen in intellectual circles, mediocre minds incapable of fresh and original thought and fearful of it in others, intent primarily on keeping the confidence of those appointed by the Comintern to safeguard their orthodoxy. They sought to do this by parroting the latest directives received from authoritative sources. Most of the thousands of writers and artists and progressive-minded professionals organized in the various Leagues and Congresses were perfectly content to abdicate from thinking even in their own fields, and merely to devise projects and slogans for the line handed them by their political mentors. They shrank from taking issue with the nonsense about class literature, class art, class science, class this and class that in the subjects of their competence. How much more unready and unwilling were they to challenge the current party line in politics and economics! How often would one be told after criticizing the theory and practice of dual trade-unionism, or the theory of Social Fascism, or the simplistic pieties, contradictions, and irrelevancies of historical and dialectical materialism: "Who are you to set your-

self up against Browder (or Foster)? And perhaps you consider yourself a better student of Marx than Stalin or Lenin?" There was little attempt made to meet any arguments except by denigrating references to the critics as "Talmudists" or "Trotskyists," or, as one literary editor of an important periodical put it, "disgruntled New York Jews who want to be generals." Even those who were impressed by the criticism, silenced if not convinced, would say: "You may be right. If you are, you ought to join the Communist Party and change it from within. If you don't, you are insincere." Their idea of sincerity was to dissemble what one believed until one could safely criticize, precisely what the continuous Communist purge of deviationists and semi-deviationists made impossible.

In an atmosphere of this kind it is not surprising that my suggestion that Dewey's educational philosophy provided a basis for a continuing revolution of the whole of American society was greeted with incredulity. And when I argued that its political and psychological possibilities carried greater promise for the development of an American socialist movement than domestic or imported varieties of vulgar Marxism, this was regarded as the worst kind of revisionism. According to my reading of Dewey's conception of democracy in education, it entailed the responsibility of the community for the growth of all its children to their full reach and power as persons. This could serve as both normative premise and as goal for a continuous and permanent social revolution, for the continuous reconstruction of all our major social institutions, especially the economic system.

Dewey himself had come to realize this—not without prodding from me, I can say not too immodestly. I had contended and still do, that only in a

democratic socialist economy in which housing, schooling, and vocational opportunities are planned in relation to the needs of individuals, and not made dependent upon the vagaries of the market, could the educational ideals of *Democracy and Education* be realized. By the time he published his *Liberalism and Social Action* Dewey had come around to accepting this, and, with an eye on the hate-mongering, violence-inciting, neo-Nazi groups then cluttering up the political landscape, to emphasizing that the method of intelligence was not milk-and-water reasonableness but toughness with those who resorted to force to negate the popular will. But after his study of the Moscow Trials and his bitter experiences with the hostility and indifference of large numbers of ritualistic American liberals to criticisms of Stalin's regime of terror, Dewey drew back from further exploration of the social corollaries of his underlying philosophy of education. He was committed to piecemeal solutions which did not exclude large-scale social changes and, under some circumstances, even revolutionary changes. But he became increasingly suspicious and critical of revolutionary changes conceived as "total solutions," and of the disregard of the means and instrumentalities by which they were achieved. There were some who dismissed his own educational ideals as Utopian in that they could no more be implemented than the ideals of Robert Owen before some revolutionary changes had transformed the existing order in its entirety. Dewey regarded as much worse than Utopian, conceptions of an ideal society that were not continuous with programs and methods of action in the present, that failed to give some purchase in the struggles to solve present problems. Such ideals he regarded as purely verbal allegiances, and very dangerous to

boot, because unrelated as they were to any specific practice, they could be invoked to sanctify any practice. Dewey distrusted those who regarded democracy merely as a means of realizing socialism, instead of testing proposed socialist measures as a means of extending and deepening democracy.

What was required, among other things, were detailed studies in depth of the educational system on all its levels. This meant more than fresh analyses of the curriculum to purge it of racial and ethnic prejudice. Inquiries should have been undertaken into the effects of existing social and economic institutions on the functioning of schools—the effects of the technological revolution, the population explosion, and the migration and displacement of families, for instance, upon the distribution of educational opportunities. Such inquiries should have culminated in imaginative proposals for practical changes for which wide political support could have been organized. The labor movement could have been mobilized not only for support of programs of social security but for broad educational reforms.

But this research was precisely what most radical intellectuals were unwilling or unprepared to do. It was much too prosaic; it smacked of busy work, of Fabianism, of the unexciting publications of the unexciting League for Industrial Democracy. It has been characteristic of American intellectual radicalism from the early thirties down to the present that it has been primarily an expression of a mood of protest, opposition, and aspiration. Its greatest intellectual effects and triumphs have been rhetorical. And although there have been heroic individual episodes and actions, there has been a singular lack of enthusiasm for developing specific programs for legislative action around which, with the help of the or-

beginning to rage in the philosophy of education, and the problems of theory and practice engaging professional educators. The latter were regarded with unconcealed disdain as pedagogical bores and hacks, and, with the rare exception of a few who had made contributions to other fields, no more qualified to be considered intellectuals than the neighborhood physicians.

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Dewey himself had come to realize this—not without prodding from me, I can say not too immodestly. I had contended and still do, that only in a

sional educators had strong social interests these were not tintured enough by sensitivity to the multiple ways in which interests could be expressed in literature, drama, and art. They concerned themselves little with the problems of the creative medium and with the clash of traditions in criticisms. To the intellectuals American professional educators appeared insular and parochial, if not Philistine—too much absorbed in the latest fiddle-faddle about reading, child psychology, and curricular innovation to warrant receiving serious attention.

My own relations with professional educators, except for George Counts and John Childs, were always ambiguous. They welcomed me enthusiastically because of my critical rejoinders to unfair and uninformed attacks on modern education by Neo-Thomists, classicists, and purveyors of salvation in this world and/or the next. But they were puzzled by my interpretation of Dewey's educational philosophy and by Dewey's endorsement of it. I recall two incidents symptomatic of these ambiguous relationships.

On the occasion of one of Kilpatrick's birthdays, I was invited to participate in a discussion of the significance of his contributions to education, which was to be put on records that could be replayed in schools of education throughout the country. I was reluctant to accept but finally yielded because although I had never read much of Kilpatrick, I assumed that our views about modern education, drawn from the same source, were the same. Besides, it seemed a good idea to do something for the morale of progressive educators, who were under fire on various grounds from fundamentalists, patrioteers, and real estate boards. The theme was "The Resources of Education." The other four participants had spoken and mentioned many interesting ways

in which students' experiences and environments could be used as aids in learning and in furthering significant educational growth. The devices and procedures suggested were not radically different from those I had used when I taught in elementary school and high school while doing graduate work.

But to my surprise no one mentioned what I regarded as one of the most important resources in education, and I began by saying, "Another powerful and widely useful resource in education for the cultivation of the imagination and the enlargement of intellectual horizons is the reading of books," or words to that effect. I got no further. Excited interruptions from all sides demanded to know what I meant. I was asked what relevance books had to the project method, and was lectured about the dangers of using books as a substitute for experience. All this to the apparent embarrassment of Kilpatrick himself, who was present but said nothing, and to my own amazement that my innocent and commonplace remark should have provoked such dismay and commotion. The recording was broken off. When it was resumed I rephrased my remarks carefully to indicate that the reading of books was, of course, supplementary to the other resources of education, that there was reading and reading, and that a good teacher knew how to stimulate the student's interest in sustained and critical reading by giving him various projects related to it. But even my amended contributions had spoiled the recording. The next day the woman in charge of the arrangements telephoned and requested rather peremptorily that I appear for a rerun. She made no bones about the fact that she thought I was in the wrong educational pew and would just as soon leave me out but that Professor Kilpatrick had specifi-

ganized labor movement, educational and political campaigns could have been waged. Even fundamental analyses of developments in the American economy—a critique of welfare economics from the point of view of public welfare, for instance, or studies of the promise and inadequacies of economic aid to underdeveloped countries, of the impact of automation on employment, or of the growing power and changing nature of the corporation (subjects one would have thought crucial to the understanding of our present capitalist society—were either not undertaken or left in the main to professional economists and semi-public agencies. This was true, not only of the American intellectuals whose political syndrome in the thirties and forties was a positive tropism toward the Soviet Union, but also of a much more gifted group of radical intellectuals, largely literary, who were so intent upon preserving their revolutionary purity despite the absence of any revolutionary program that they would denounce with equal ferocity—when they did not draw an equation between them—the cultures of totalitarian Communism and the imperfectly democratic West, a West in which they enjoyed a greater freedom and opportunity than ever before to influence their fellow citizens by presenting programs for living and learning. They, too, were indifferent to basic educational issues and problems.

Nor was there less indifference to the philosophy of education, until quite recently, among professional American philosophers despite the early example of James and Dewey. Here and there during the thirties a philosopher would criticize the overweening arrogance of Hutchins, Adler, and their neo-Thomist allies in their attempt to derive educational corollaries from metaphysical premises. But on the whole the philosophy of education was regarded as a

“soft subject” like the philosophy of art to be left to the cultivation of those who found the severe discipline of logic and epistemology too taxing. When in the forties I published my *Education for Modern Man*, some of my colleagues saw in it merely a foray into an unrelated discipline despite the obvious truth that any discussion of the ends of education that goes beyond sociological description inescapably involves a normative approach to human values, a central and continuing concern of philosophy from Plato to the present.

The contributions of professional American educators did little to interest the bulk of American intellectuals. Dewey was known to them as a public figure who had been part of the cultural landscape when most of them appeared on the scene. His writings on war and peace had put him in the thick of public events. His philosophical contributions which ranged over many of the disciplines in the social sciences and humanities commanded respect even when they elicited little understanding. Lewis Mumford, for example, interpreted Dewey's stress on the reconstruction of experience, personal and social, in order to liberate, enlarge, and enrich human energies, as a rationalization of the status quo, an acquiescence to dominant American values, and as a plan for personal adjustment to contemporary institutions. The “proof” of all this was that Dewey had critically supported the First World War. But at least American intellectuals were aware of his existence as an educator. His professional colleagues in education were either unknown to most intellectuals or ignored by them. The reasons for this were many and obvious. Their interests were for the most part narrow and highly specialized. They were unaware of the moods and enthusiasms and currents of thought among intellectuals. Even when profes-

fusions in the formulation of problems, the statement of plans, and the articulation of insights. But the point of departure should always be some problem, plan, or insight. New vision will not arise merely from linguistic refinements. These must be inspired

and controlled by genuine problematic situations. To sow in education linguistic distinctions developed in other fields and for other purposes will result in little but a harvest of dry thistles. But this is a theme for another day.

Some Effects of Parochial School Education in America

PETER H. ROSSI

ALICE S. ROSSI

A dual school system has existed in the states—the public and the parochial. While this dualism has not had the virtue of providing true competition, the form and function of the public system has been significantly affected by the parochial system, and in some areas of reformation—as in racial desegregation—the parochial have been in advance of the public schools. In most ways, however, the parochial schools have inclined more to the traditional; yet with the revolutionary changes sweeping the Roman Catholic Church, it is not easy to predict what transformations might be felt in the parochial schools.

It is likely that the number of children attending Roman Catholic schools will decline as Catholics concentrate their resources on improving the quality of Catholic education. Parochial education in Protestant and Hebrew schools, on the other hand, seems likely to continue its expansion. Increasing parental concern about the growing secularization of school and society, as well as the desire to preserve and defend religious and cultural tradition, are the reasons offered by the sponsors of these schools for their growth. Others contend that the parochial school is really a means for escaping the difficulties and tensions created by the desegregation of big city public schools.

In searching the record of relations between church and school, one should remember that schools everywhere in the world had their principal origin in the desire of religious sects to teach their gospels to initiates and that schools in the United States, despite the ascendancy of science and the court decisions about school prayer, still have deep roots in religious, moral, and ethical traditions.

Harvard Educational Review, 27, No. 3 (Summer, 1957), 168-199. This excerpted article was followed up and confirmed by a national survey, the results of which were published in Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans* (Chicago: The Aldine Press, 1966).

cally asked that I be invited. It had been his idea in the first place. I begged off and, when I had a chance, dipped into Kilpatrick's books. I got the bizarre impression that in *Education and Experience*, Dewey had been aiming his shafts at those apparently under the influence of Kilpatrick.

The second incident occurred when Harold Taylor was appointed President of Sarah Lawrence College and I was invited to address the faculty and students on the philosophy of education. My analysis of the conception of an ideal curriculum of required courses for everyone everywhere as comparable to the prescription of a required diet for everyone everywhere was warmly received. But when I went on to defend some curricular prescriptions for all students on the ground that although all student needs were individual some needs were common—like the effective use of English, understanding of logical relationships, knowledge of historical traditions, intelligent awareness of the social forces shaping the present and future,—a pained hush fell on the audience. Taylor stiffened and reddened. He later said something about Dewey's "left-hook" becoming a "right-hook," and the only question I recall was whether I considered myself a progressive educator. Sarah Lawrence obviously did not. Since that time I have never been invited to Sarah Lawrence to talk about anything again except half-heartedly by some student organizations in search of "a conservative speaker" who will take "the negative side" in a forum on peace or academic freedom or civil rights. However, I was once told by a member of the faculty that it was not so much my educational views which gave offense as the fact that my critical attitude towards the Soviet Union and its foreign policy was deemed too inflexible.

I am confident, or rather, hopeful that the climate of opinion has changed, and that today an analysis of educational issues would meet with a more discriminating response and not with blind and emotional labeling.

American intellectuals will probably come to take a greater interest in the nature of American education for at least two reasons. The issue of desegregation in education has become central and has raised difficult problems of establishing equality in education while preserving or improving its quality. The interest of liberal intellectuals in these questions is reinforced by the necessity of thinking about the education of their own children, very few of whom, incidentally, attend public schools. More important, the Berkeley revolution has inspired the mistaken notion that it developed primarily because of the dissatisfaction of most students with their educational experience. Although this belief is untrue, the Berkeley revolution, among other things, has led intellectuals to think about at least some problems of higher education. The so-called "free universities" will die aborning except as adjuncts to sectarian political movements. But the ferment produced among administrations and faculties, who are running scared before any manifestation of student unrest, may develop some sound and fruitful educational proposals.

The professional educator should welcome the belated discovery of his colleagues from other disciplines that they, too, are educators. He should rise to the challenge of new interest, and a new intellectual audience, to reaffirm what is valid in his past views and to project bold and imaginative ideas for improving the character of education on every level. The current emphasis on linguistic analysis can be helpful in clearing away some con-

mented by instruction in both doctrine and ritual.

Catholic secondary schools are most frequently organized on a diocesan level. The curriculum is primarily college preparatory, few schools offering the comparatively more expensive training in either commerce or the manual arts. Greater stress is placed on the provision of secondary education for girls than for boys.

Because statistics on school attendance in the United States are so poor, it is hard to judge what have been the long-term trends in the number of children educated in parochial schools. Certainly . . . the number of parochial schools has grown considerably since 1900, even though the proportion of parishes supporting schools has remained fairly constant. What fragmentary statistics exist on school attendance indicate a different trend: parochial schools are educating a larger proportion of the total population in school today than in 1920. One thing is certain: the growth of parochial schools and numbers of pupils in absolute terms demonstrate the viability of this institution.

Some Conclusions

. . . Two main conclusions can be drawn concerning the parochial schools of the American Roman Catholic Church.

First, there is apparently an intimate connection between the cultural backgrounds of American Catholics and their success in establishing and maintaining a mass educational enterprise. Early in the history of the Catholic Church in America the parochial schools became a symbol of the integrity of the Church and the attachment of the immigrant ethnic groups to their national backgrounds and to the Church. The parochial schools furthermore served as an important insti-

tutional device for maintaining group attachment over time. Even today the parochial schools still play very much the same role, particularly for the Irish and French Canadians in the New England states.

Secondly, despite the historical origins of these schools and their present importance in the life of certain ethnic groups, we were unable to find strong evidence that parochial school Catholics were very different from other Catholics. The influence of the school is shown most dramatically in areas where the Church has traditionally taken a strong stand, e.g., on support for religious education, or on the performance of ritual duties. In other areas of life the parochial school Catholic is only marginally differentiated from other Catholics. It would appear that solidarity of the Catholic group or of the ethnic groups within the Catholic fold maintains itself primarily through other more informal means. In this sense, the parochial schools do not appear to be the main mechanism by which Catholics maintain themselves as a distinct grouping among the American people.

These conclusions are not given without some modifying qualifications discussed below. Furthermore, they raise almost as many points as they settle concerning the nature of the Catholic Church and its parochial schools in America.

The most important qualification that must be placed upon these conclusions is that they apply primarily to New England where the major part of our data have been obtained. In that part of our country, Catholic-Protestant relations have long been poor, with both sides all too quick to see the slights in the actions of the other. Nineteenth-century New England was scarcely a hospitable place in which to settle for the Irish Catholic immigrant, and when the Catholics

Doctrinal Basis and Organizational Structure

The doctrinal basis of the Roman Catholic parochial schools stems from the Third Plenary Council of the American hierarchy held in Baltimore in 1884, and has been reiterated a number of times. The Council declared that it was morally binding on every Catholic to see to it that his children had proper religious training. The vehicle for such training was the parochial school, or if such schools were not available, provision in some other fashion for such training. In order to provide for proper training, each parish was ordered to set up denominational schools within two years and to make provisions for the religious instruction of those children who could not be accommodated in parochial schools. In this pronouncement the hierarchy set the pattern of mass education under parochial jurisdiction.

The goal of a school in every parish and every Catholic child in a parochial school is still far from fulfillment today. . . . Slightly more than half of the parishes in the United States at present support parochial schools and about the same proportion of Catholics have attended them. It should be noted here that statistics on school attendance in private schools are notoriously unreliable and the proportions quoted here are subject to a large and unknown error.

With few exceptions, the Catholic elementary schools of today are financed and administered by individual parishes. The parish pastor undertaking to organize a school has full responsibility for raising the necessary capital, obtaining teaching personnel from one of the teaching orders, and for providing operating funds. A diocese may often undertake to provide building funds to be repaid on easy

terms. A diocesan superintendent of schools, whose powers are primarily administrative and advisory, provides some degree of uniformity in curriculum and standards. He may also have direct control over diocesan high schools; few parishes are large or rich enough to support the more expensive secondary education.

The Plenary Council of 1884 urged the establishment of free parochial schools. Today, however, most parochial schools charge tuition fees. Compared to those charged in secular private schools, these fees are nominal—estimated to be about \$25 per year per pupil in the Chicago area—and are usually waived for pupils in need. The major part of school expenses is raised from voluntary contributions from the total congregation. Compared to public or secular private schools, the *per capita* cost of parochial schooling must be considerably less, since wages paid to the Sisters and Brothers are nominal. In fact, mass denominational schooling is a tribute to the dedication of the members of the teaching orders.

The teaching personnel of the typical parochial school are provided to the parish by a religious community. The parish undertakes to furnish housing, subsistence, and a nominal wage. When it is not possible to obtain enough Sisters from a religious community, lay persons may be employed to round out the full complement, a practice that has become more common recently during postwar expansion of the parochial school system.

The curriculum of the parochial school must, of course, conform to whatever standards individual states set up. Catholic textbooks contain obvious differences from those in use in public schools, stressing Church doctrine where applicable. The more or less standard curriculum of American schools is further heavily supple-

became a majority in the twentieth century they did not lose this opportunity to redress an unfavorable balance of wrongs. Where Catholic-Protestant relations do not have as long a history of suspicion and rivalry the Church may not be so central to the self-conceptions of the Catholic group, and the social-psychological meaning of parochial schools, as we have shown it to be in this article, may be somewhat different. Indeed, Fichter's recent study of a parochial school in South Bend, Indiana, indicates that this may be the case in places where ethnic identities have lost their fervor and the mixing has gone on longer in the American pot. In South Bend, Catholics apparently feel themselves merely another Christian denomination rather than the embattled and beleaguered underdogs in a well-established caste system.

A second qualification stems from the nature of the data which we have been able to assemble. We have viewed the Church and the parochial schools through the eyes of the ordinary parishioner, but the Roman Catholic Church is much more than a body of believers. It is also composed of a cadre of clergy and an organization which are not lacking in experience in this world of power and politicking. We have seen how parishioners use and are affected by parochial schools, but we have not seen how the existence itself of such a school system affects the cadre of the Church and the institutions of the local community.

In this last connection, several hypotheses may be advanced. First of all, there is no doubt that the parochial schools represent useful recruiting grounds for the clergy and the religious orders. Teaching Sisters and Priests scan the student body carefully for signs of vocations, and the meas-

ure of a good parochial school is often not how many achieve success in the secular world but how many take the vows of poverty and chastity.

The participation of the Roman Catholic Church in the job of educating our youth imparts more legitimacy to their concern with education in general. In towns and cities throughout the land where parochial schools educate a goodly proportion of the young, the public system is sensitive to what the Church hierarchy thinks and says about education in general. For some public school educators, the very existence of a parallel mass education appears as a threat. The parochial elementary schools of the Roman Catholic Church have the explicit aim of enrolling about 8,000,000 out of the 33,000,000 children of elementary school age. In cities where the Catholics form the majority, the kind of financial and political support for good public school education may often seem in jeopardy by that fact alone. If, in addition, the public school educator is someone to whom the Roman Catholic Church is a distasteful, medieval anachronism, the success of the Church in maintaining its schools may seem to have been bought at the price of a lowering in quality of public education in general.

In the data which we have presented in this article, there seems some substantiation for this conclusion. We noted that the parent who has sent his children to the parochial school manifested a low degree of concern for public school. The parochial school parent pays little attention to the affairs of the school board or to public controversies which arise over school issues. In addition, when we consider that he must support parochial schools by voluntary contributions, his interest in the public schools may consist primarily of a concern for the tax rate

tion of capital for themselves. They are jobholders, not capitalists.

The propertyless New Class is thus most broadly defined as that group of people who gain status and income through organizational position. With some exceptions, they arrive at their positions—or at least are permitted to enter the race—mostly by virtue of academic qualification. This great change has so effectively sneaked up on us, we are so many of us so completely involved in it, that we do not recognize it for the major historical transformation it in fact is. Most of us thought we were just getting and holding “good jobs”: actually, we were (for better or for worse) changing the whole world.

To restate the proposition in other terms: Under the duress of modern technology, productive property has of necessity been organized in larger and larger aggregates. Hence the corporate revolution. Control of the major property held by the corporations is in the hands of non-owners. And, as technology gallops forward, its processes require more technologists and ever more refined patternings of sophisticated men and sophisticated machines. As technology becomes more involved with accumulating know-how, and less dependent on the gross division of labor which characterized industrialism, the central factor in production again becomes people, their particular qualities and capacities: human beings thus once again become more important than machines (even though they may persist inordinately in “acting like” machines). The truly productive “property,” then, is the skill of the person. Moreover, this skill is not merely individual, but is implicitly social and political in that it requires not only that the individual be able to do something, but that he be able to relate what he does to what others do. This

is the *entrée* for a great deal of purely organizational or administrative effort, and consequently the opening for a great number of people who mostly organize and administer, and criticize and comment on, the activities of others. To begin with, then, we have technologists and administrative intellectuals as primary elements of the New Class.

How big is the New Class? Perhaps not yet as big as the small-property class or the still-uneducated working class, but these latter are declining in significance as well as quantity, while the New Class grows greatly both numerically and in strategic position. In 1960, some two-thousand institutions of higher learning cared for 3.2 million persons. The figure is rapidly increasing: various Bureau of the Census projections estimate that college enrollment will be two-to-three times as great by 1980. Persons twenty-five years of age or older in the 1960 population who had completed four years or more of college numbered 7.6 million; in 1980 the figure may well reach 14.4 million, nearly double. These people—2 million college graduates a year—“capitalize” four years or more of their lives not for cultural adornment or use, but for reasons of career.

In attempting to appreciate the scope and character of this major phenomenon of the New Class, one may properly recollect the previous rise to power of the bourgeoisie, the property-owning class. That rise did not occur all at once: pockets of stagnation always existed alongside spurts of growth; at one time, a particular area might be the liveliest, then another; there were important national and geographic differences; and the people responsible for carrying out the change were not, while they were doing so, particularly easy to identify. The currently occurring changeover in empha-

power

two

The New Class

DAVID T. BAZELON

Like sex, power is the subject of extensive clandestine discussion—essential, provocative, yet so shrouded in secrecy that only a few have been sufficiently bold, imaginative, or well funded to do empirical studies of the topic. In earlier decades, the Marxian analysis which attributed virtual monopoly power to the “capitalist class” enjoyed considerable popularity and, to a lesser extent, still does. The power of corporate wealth in the economic as well as the political systems of the nation has received little scrutiny in recent years, perhaps because that power appears to have been somewhat transformed in the postwar decades.

Significantly, no major analysis has dealt with the relation between corporate power and the schools. Instead, in recent years scholars have set their sights more often on the growing power of schools and colleges in selecting the elites who govern the dominant corporate, industrial, financial, military, and governmental bodies of the nation. Bazelon describes the rise of a new college-bred class to positions close to the old centers of economic power but, unlike their “capitalist” peers, owning only moderate accumulations of property.

Perhaps the profoundest event of this century in the United States has been the growth-to-dominance of corporations, which have become our chosen form for the social and political control of technology. Apart from the fact that this new system has worked so devastatingly well, the chief effect of the corporate order has been decisively to undermine the previously

David T. Bazelon “The New Class,” *Commentary*, August, 1966, pp. 48-53.

existing system of private property. In the process, the class of property-holders has been undercut, and a New Class of non-property-holding individuals has been created whose life conditions are determined by their position within, or relation to, the corporate order. They desire and they achieve a privileged standard of living; and while they do gather in some “property” for personal security, they do not look forward to the accumula-

Wilson's administration would not have been successful in the War if he had not adopted the policy of calling in the experts of the Nation, without regard to party affiliations, in order to create and send across the seas that great Army in record-breaking time.

Then, too, there was the precedent of the Progressive movement. As Richard Hofstadter puts it:

The development of regulative and humane legislation required the skills of lawyers and economists, sociologists and political scientists, in the writing of laws and in the staffing of administrative and regulative bodies. . . . Reform brought with it the brain trust.

Hofstadter sees the Progressive movement as a revolt against organization, and especially against its spiritual consequences. The Progressives and the New Class—although in many social ways similar—differ in this important respect: the New Class knows that it lives in and through organizations. This much at least has been accomplished. Also fundamentally altered is the definition of a key term for both, "opportunity": for the Progressives it meant "competition," but for the New Class it means "education," whether or not competitive (and if so, then competitive inside organizations, not between individuals outside organized life). On this difference, one may reasonably base a new politics.

As an aspect of the New Class adventure, note that both Donald Richberg and Raymond Moley, who were important early New Dealers, used that experience to go over to the big interests somewhat later. Walter Lippmann had done the same thing before them; John Dos Passos and others more recently. These intellectuals represent the rise of a class which, as it rises, makes necessary deals and so "amalgamates" with previously exist-

ing classes. There is really no good reason for this phenomenon to produce the general unease that it does. It is perfectly ordinary and, in the human scope of things, even desirable. What is unsettling, I think, is that these people are *intellectuals*. But that is exactly what is upsetting about the whole New-Class phenomenon. This sort of thing, not a hero's lonely endeavor, is the pattern for the future of active thought in history. Can it ruin culture altogether?

If so, it is mainly because what we have known as "culture" was born as dry fruit, with a seed of genetic powerlessness. We may be in for an unpleasant time, while ideas and actions come into a better working relation by reason of the involvement of the intellectual in effective (not merely prescriptive) history. This means that the mode of lawyers—the intellectuals who were dealing with genuine issues of power in that long period when the rest of us were living in the academic desert—is likely to become a functional model for a large part of the cultural future.

But there are also social aspects of the New Class advance. Writing about FDR's tour of the European front during the First World War, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Schlesinger mentions that Roosevelt "ran into" Robert A. Lovett, Fiorello H. LaGuardia, and Charles R. Merriam (and he informs us about the rank and service of each at that time). This social coziness is especially characteristic of Schlesinger's writing. It reveals a very clublike view of history: history almost as the conjoint action of talented classmates. Since historians do not merely collect facts but also dream the dream of a better story, I think Schlesinger here reveals *his* idea of a better story—namely, that America, by now virtually has that ruling elite

sis from money-capital to education-capital—to be invested in the status play of organization life rather than directly and personally in the production of commodities for a market economy—is not apt to be simpler, clearer, or in any way less complicatedly “historical.”

Surely, however, it has by now become fairly clear that the present scramble for educational advantage, and the struggle to translate achieved educational status into organizational advantage, has much in common with the fierce competition of early business growth. It is front-page news every spring when the letters are sent out from the admissions offices of the major Eastern colleges. Even the initial edge of family or propertied background is similar to the advantage enjoyed, say, by a 17th-century aristocrat in an earlier entrepreneurial age. The important fact here is that a particular old class-based advantage, to become fully effective, must be translated into terms appropriate to the new class: from aristocratic status and tenure to entrepreneurial use of property; and similarly, from a property edge to the educational and organizational use thereof. In the 19th century, the education of the upper classes was an occasional adornment; today it is a functional necessity. This being so, the capacity (often called “talent”) to scramble forward in the environment of the elite academy is competitive with the wealth and family background which once almost exclusively governed admission. Writing in the *New York Times* on March 14, 1964, Robert Trumbull reported that Harvard, Yale, and Princeton were shifting, albeit glacially, from wealth to ability. He cited a study of the *New York Social Register* for 1963 by Gene R. Hawes to the effect that “while nearly two-thirds of the men listed

went to Harvard, Yale, or Princeton, fewer than half of their sons” have done so.

Education, like capital in the past, is now a manipulable and alienable property. With capital alienated from the capitalist by the system of corporate ownership and investment out of retained earnings, the distinction between capitalist and *educated* proletarian fades into something less profound than it used to be. Indeed, the latter has the more significant and dynamic relation to the means of production in that the system cannot work without him; whereas the capital that *works*—machines and buildings rather than bank deposits and stock certificates—hardly needs the alienated capitalist at all. More and more he becomes a mere rentier, and his best defense is tradition.

In his thorough work on the New Deal, Arthur Schlesinger says that the idea of the “brain trust” had its beginnings in a conversation that occurred in March 1932 between Sam Rosenman and candidate Roosevelt concerning the general lack of ideas as to what to do about the Depression—and especially the fact that the businessmen and politicians did not have anything much to offer. Rosenman suggested going to the universities. The first ambassador from academia to the future New Deal was Raymond Moley of Columbia. Moley then recruited Tugwell, Berle, and some others. Thus began the revolutionary, non-priestly, and ultimately successful onslaught of the New Class upon the heights of national power.

The breakthrough event, then, was the New Deal; but the New Deal itself had roots. Roosevelt, for one thing, had been primed for the event—as for much else—by his tour of duty under Woodrow Wilson. In a speech in 1920 he said:

"rational" ever to become effective politicians—or, what is the same thing, non-concentrating administrators.

Finally, we can sense some of the quality of the New Class from its characteristic habitat—the suburbs.

What is a suburb? It is most obviously the new place where the new people live. The proliferation of suburbs constitutes the big postwar change in America: they are where the new money has been spent, where the much-discussed "income revolution" has erected its shopping-center barricades. One out of four Americans now resides, or at least sleeps, in a suburb: they grow three times as fast as central-city and rural areas. (Thus, for example, two suburban counties adjacent to Washington, D.C. are expected to increase by one-quarter during the four years ending in 1968.)

The suburbs are affluent frontier-towns, and as such they present an aspect of apparent homogeneity which is frightening even to many of the residents. An astute sociologist, William M. Dobriner, in *Class in Suburbia*, argues that this is a passing phase. The true and demonstrable differences between cities and suburbs he details as follows:

To summarize, when compared with central cities, suburbs have higher fertility ratios, higher percentages of married persons, lower percentages separated, higher percentages in primary families, high socioeconomic status in the labor force, higher median income, lower median age, a higher percentage of mobile families, and a higher level of educational achievement.

Youthful people in youthful places.

Every town in America was at one time—and not so long ago—a frontier-town. The only thing new here is the upholstery and the purpose. But things change: even Chicago grew up a little bit. There is still a great deal of mill-

ing around and fumbling, as to location, for instance: in Nassau County, the average turnover on mortgages has been six-and-one-half years. The society and the culture of the New Class are being created: naturally, it takes time. First, the appeal of gadgets must be overcome; then, the true human scope of the job must be measured and accepted, without unalterable despair; finally, one actually reads some of the books he has bought. Meanwhile, there is PTA, fluoridation, Nice Negroes, and in the end the really illicitly exciting thought of electing a councilman, or even a congressman.

In 1964, the *Congressional Quarterly* identified fifty congressional districts as predominantly suburban. CQ has also predicted that with adequate arithmetical redistricting under the new Supreme Court rulings, the suburbs would gain something like twenty seats. Seventy Congressmen is a heavy swing group: it almost equals the hard-core Southern contingent. And it is growing, while the latter is declining. James MacGregor Burns divides "political" issues into style-of-life and economic ones; and he suggests that the new swing-group of voters in the new suburbs can be appealed to, and given a political character, through style-of-life issues. Indeed—and probably through no others. Which indicates a very substantial change in American politics—based on the New Class, and involving matters that go somewhat deeper than ideological liberalism.

The new suburbs seemed to be all-out Republican at the beginning only because of their newness, the fact that the earlier suburbs were unrelentingly wealthy, and because of the Eisenhower magic. But President Johnson did just about as well in the suburbs as Eisenhower (except for the South), and the fifty suburban seats in the House were split almost evenly be-

group, if not ruling class, that it has so noticeably lacked since the Civil War. And it is suggestive that Schlesinger should feel this way, for he more than anyone else is the historian of the New Class—of its great New Deal victory, and of the impressive return to Washington of its elite elements under the managerial style-baron, John F. Kennedy.

Following along with the basic cleavage in American society, the first great division noticeable among the members of the New Class is between those who work in private bureaucracies and those who work in public ones: perhaps, with more meaning, in profit and non-profit institutions. In each, the important matter for the New-Class individual is his job, and the educational status which has afforded him his hold on the job. But most of the basic productive property in this country is under the control and direction of private corporations; apart from military considerations, the public governments—national, state, and local—are decidedly junior to the power of private bureaucracies. Accordingly, those members of the New Class who work in government partake of its inferior income and status while also suffering or benefiting (according to their particular natures) from the absence of the profit ideology as an organizing principle of purpose in their lives. On the other hand, the distinction between profit and non-profit is being reduced as time goes on: education, for instance, is becoming a big business; and the larger corporations take care of a great number of people who are not genuinely concerned with profitmaking.

The other great division among members of the New Class is between the technologists and the administrators who control and exploit them. (The New Class is the non-owning

class: and they non-own everything important, eventually.) The technologist often prefers to concentrate on his work and mostly he needs only to be left alone in order to do so. But in bureaucratic life, this may be asking too much. The irascible Admiral Rickover, speaking some years ago before a professional group, declared:

The work of professional persons in bureaucracies is severely hampered by administrative interference. We have such interference because we do not draw clear lines between the respective role of the professional man and the administrator and because, of the two, the administrator enjoys the higher prestige and position. He is in fact king.

Concentration on work—especially involving things and tools rather than people—in effect delivers the power of the organization to the people-oriented administrators. Sometimes this power is delivered ahead of schedule: writing about the New Deal experience, Schlesinger refers to a certain Hugh Hammond Bennett, an early crusader against the evil of soil erosion. An important issue at the time was whether the problem was to be approached through the social and economic structure which induced soil erosion, or whether it was to be attacked directly in a physical way. "Bennett no doubt felt that one bureau could not do everything, and that the engineering approach, by avoiding the politically sensitive problem of rural poverty, could gain conservation a broader support." So everybody ends up playing politics, and it is not really the height of scientific insight to do so *after* surrendering power—and, incidentally, distorting the solution of the technical problem in favor of crudely imagined political obstacles. But this is typical, I fear, of the technical wing of the New Class. They are much too

influenced by more than a few ideas on a narrow range, and they may more readily intellectualize their frustrations—and their ideals. If this is so, some great political battles of the future may well be fought over curricula in the schools—not simply repetitions of the current battles as to who gets into what schools, and how many places there are in all of them.

Education, moreover, induces ideals. It does so by making people read more than otherwise, and by delaying the process of gaining experience in the world. For these reasons and others, education produces frustration—a factor which has already led to a number of significant status-revolts and will undoubtedly lead to many more, both within and outside the ambit of the new student disruption (on the right-wing, Goldwater's appeal to New Class tension was patent). So far as the educated member of the New Class is concerned, his normal quotient of frustration is heightened by the manner in which he has been accepted into American society: he has been given a job. This is, of course, better than not being given a job, but when a person is trained to do something and then is either not allowed to do it or is encouraged to do it meaninglessly, additional frustration must inevitably result. This is the condition today of many educated individuals. Because more and more people have had to be educated—what else could be done with them?—there are more and more educated people around for whom jobs must be provided, and jobs are in fact provided. But "just jobs." In this sense, the ancient, trained irrelevance of the academic has become a model applied with great extension throughout society in dealing with a New Class for whom jobs must be provided, but whose irrelevance must meanwhile be

maintained. This could not be clearer than it was in Washington, certainly before the 89th Congress, where thousands upon thousands of educated people occupied jobs in the federal bureaucracy in which they were supposed to analyze a wide range of social problems and provide programs to deal with these—which programs were almost never enacted by Congress. This is called staff policy research, and it is an infinitely frustrating way of life.*

Members of the New Class can be distinguished from one another by noting not only the extent of their frustration, but their manner of dealing with it. Some become utopians, others are compulsively realistic; almost all go through a more or less extended period of undertaking personal consumption as a form of idolatry; many create and live within a rigid aura of professionalism; most, at one time or another, retreat from their actual condition and overidentify with some more traditional grouping, as the right-wing intellectuals identify with small-property ownership, or the urban Jews with problems of social justice, and many serious Protestants with the Negroes.

As the former style of politics was based on patronage involving low-level jobs in big cities, there is now a new style of patronage based on the distribution of New-Class jobs, in both the private and the public spheres. In the 50's, professional and technical

* At the spring meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association in 1964, the incoming president disclosed the results of a survey of analysts. According to the report in the *New York Times* (May 2, 1964), 1,100 analysts with M.D.'s treat 11,000 patients a year: "Almost all are college-educated. Many have graduate degrees." This high education level was the main factor identifying these private patients. That, of course, and their frustrations.

tween Democrats and Republicans in 1964.

Political power to the suburbs will heighten the conflict, and induce adjustments, between the different and as yet undeveloped elements of the New Class who live there. Through political activity, they will come to know themselves better: their style will jell. With redistricting—state-legislative as well as congressional—the increased importance of the suburbs will provide an ideal atmosphere for the increased participation of New-Class people in politics. And political participation, wherever and however it begins, is a learning process—not a rigid, standstill thing. Once they seriously begin to try, these people will learn how to operate their own society.

The regular "downstate" Republican leaders have been no fairer to the new people in the underrepresented suburbs than have the city Democratic bosses. In this sense, the suburbs are truly in the middle—and it is a question of which old-line force sends the most effective ambassadors, and does so first; or makes and accepts the surer alliance sooner with indigenous "style" representatives. Charles Percy in Illinois, for example, understands the necessity—and appears to have the capacity—to appeal to the Chicago suburbs. The old-guard Republicans do not and cannot accept the new order of doing business, and they seem to be splitting the party in an effort to hold onto the past. In Maryland, the Democratic bosses of Baltimore have allied themselves with the Southern-type ruralists of the Eastern shore against the Washington suburban counties—and moderate Republicans in the area survived the Johnson sweep in 1964. And John Lindsay—despite the disaster of having been elected mayor of New York—is still the perfect suburban candidate (as well as

the most adventurous scavenger among the ruins of the Republican party).

I find it of long-term significance that the Reform Democrats, even where they were weakest (in Chicago), did well in the once heavily Republican suburbs. In the suburbs, the Reformers are dealing with their own class even if not with their own liberal ideological grouping. And the class factor, the style factor, is the more important one.

Potentially the most significant contradiction or division in the New Class involves neither the job nor the dormitory, but specifically the "education" which is its historical *entrée*. To go at an understanding of this in a proper way, however, requires some subtlety. The advent of the New Class concerns not only a change in the property and power structure, but also brings about a considerable diffusion of what we may begin by calling "culture." Educational status does not function simply as a substitute for property, but also unavoidably provides a basis for awareness. In one sense or another, these new people *are* educated. With an excess neither of hope nor of despair, it would seem reasonable to explore the possibility that this increase in "culture" will itself amount to a political factor of independent significance.

In the basic sociological sense, of course, all classes develop their own culture—indeed, a class is finally defined by its culture (as in speaking of the "subculture" of the adolescent delinquent or the drug addict, and so on). The New Class naturally has and develops a culture of this kind. But it also becomes involved in realizing itself by means of culture in the non-sociological sense—which is to say, through serious reading of serious books. People whose passports to organizational position and class tenure were derived from education can be

are probably the leading creative individuals in carrying the development forward.

The education of the New-Class member—an electronics engineer or a systems-research analyst with a Ph.D in sociology or a physicist working for the RAND Corporation or an economist dealing with manpower problems in the Department of Labor—consists of training to *think ahead*. These people administer and they plan—indeed, it is impossible to administer without becoming engaged in some form of gross plan, at least a “plan” for resolving the conflicts among the interests one is administering. Hence it is distinctly possible that *all* the education of *all* the members of the New Class has a common denominator—namely, to plan something.

The whole theory of rule by property was that the accompanying competition dispensed with the need to plan, and thus dispensed as well with “planners” (intellectuals) and the state (the primary planning agency). This was never an accurate representation of the old trading order, since no matter how hard a businessman might try not to think ahead, and cooperate with others in not doing so, he and they did in fact indulge. There was always communication beyond the market, beyond that provided for by an Adam Smith market-model where communication was not so much refrained from on principle as it was considered to be impossible in fact. Where planning is possible, it occurs. The more important planning begins with the business unit, in the application of technology. But it is not limited to that; the business unit is a political as well as a technological organ-

ization. Moreover, the relations *among* business units are exquisitely political, when they are not merely those of the impersonal market.

At the end of this brief analysis, then, we note that the New Class consists of the planners—the thinkers-ahead. This explains why they are so frustrated when they are members of the non-military public division and not nearly so much so when members of the private division: planning is encouraged in the latter, nearly forbidden in the former. But planning is inherent in the educated person's activity. Conceptualizing and thinking ahead: this is planning and this is what education comes to. Indeed, what is this terribly feared political planning, really, but a kind of mutual consciousness, an awareness of what one is doing in relation to what others are up to at the same time? In any event, the fact that educated people have been placed in and around the centers of power (as this is or may become a fact of usefulness and not of mere adornment) indicates power's need for planning. It is a serious maladjustment of power in America which keeps this planning from going forward, and consequently frustrates the members of the New Class.

Their deeper sense of community *must* begin—however it may hopefully end—with the triumph of planning and its positive politics, as the dominant American style and purpose. It had better come peacefully: and any more exaggeration of adornment and redundancy—“just jobs”—may well lead at a not-so-later date to a convulsive reaction. So they must have their due. We have invited it: now we must satisfy it.

jobs grew by 2.4 million, from about 8 to about 11 per cent of the total labor force. Much of this growth was in defense; but there were also 796,000 new jobs in education, and 111,000 in welfare, religious, and other non-profit activities. The provision of such jobs constitutes a good deal of the story of the New Deal and the New Frontier—and apparently Modern Republicanism was not able or did not try too hard to slow down the process appreciably.

The growth of the New Class in England (to take only one foreign example) is both clearer and more disruptive than here. Because the old classes so thoroughly dominated education and the upper ranks of almost all major institutions, and because the education was not scientific or technical in emphasis, the New Class there has been made up of recognizably new people—with the wrong accents, for instance. Also, being a *misdeveloped* country for the modern world, England must change radically to survive—and the obvious direction is that taken some time ago by Sweden, toward high-quality technical performance. In this very special political conjunction, the Labour party has undertaken to represent the clamor for New-Class jobs based, of course, on technical education both of a higher standard and to be made more generally available to the whole population. Harold Wilson's keynote speech to the party's annual conference in the fall of 1963 concentrated on this undertaking; and Richard Crossman, at that time, called for a "revolution against educational privilege." The revolution will be politely English, however; what is happening is that new schools are being built—Oxford and Cambridge are not being nationalized.

In America, by contrast, we are

creating a culture, not overcoming one. But still, in favor of the New Class.

My overriding point is that the "new men" are newer than they know. Meanwhile, we cannot answer the main question—what the effects will be when they achieve an awareness of themselves as a class. We cannot know just what the effects will be, but we know there will be some—and we cannot guess otherwise than that they will be important.

Yet in looking for understanding of the New Class phenomenon, one must not expect pure typologies; even if one found them, they might well be misleading as to the overall course of events. No matter how serious and determinative one's propertyed or propertyless relation to the means of production may be, man does not live by property alone—especially in periods of great change, and especially in America, with its raw national style, its inherent regionalism unto anarchy, its constituency-brokerage politics, and its conflicts between a national popular culture and the mature elite varieties.

All classes, moreover, have antecedents in history. The first of the bourgeoisie were not the first traders or property-accumulators, but rather the first to make trading and property-accumulation the dominant tone, and then the dominant activity, in their particular social orders. In doing so, they undoubtedly took in and assimilated previous existing social elements, items, and forms. Something like this is happening in the development of the New Class. Thus, doctors and lawyers and teachers, as well as technologists and other bureaucratic specialists, are incorporated into the ongoing (and eventually overwhelming) development. Indeed, lawyers, as has often been the case in the past,

solution: the revolutionary Bills of Rights opened the blessings of liberty to all, and from the nineteenth century on, equality of opportunity has been a touchstone of the US social structure.

Yet at the same time, during the 17th and 18th centuries, little British-type establishments were formed in the various colonial capitals. Thereafter, proper Bostonians looked out—and down—on the Common through the purpled glass of the Bullfinch houses on Beacon Hill. In New York, social eminence was divided between the de Lanceys, who were Episcopalians and went to King's College (Columbia), and the Livingstons, who were Presbyterians and went to Yale. In Philadelphia, Friends Born in Meeting tolerated the many splinter groups of other Friends. Virginia's First Families complacently contemplated their broad and not yet eroded acres. Charleston's daughters bowed suitably at a St. Cecilia ball.

But in the late nineteenth century these eastern conclaves became islands nearly engulfed by the flood of immigration that flowed across the country. After the deluge, what you did rather than who you were became the national organizing principle. A new industrial-financial establishment took form in the 1890's, as Mrs. Potter Palmer queened Chicago's preparations for the World's Fair. General population growth inflated even the numbers of the prominent—New Yorkers produced a list of Four Hundred who could recognize Mrs. Astor's horse. (More recently, in cold blood, the number was raised to Five Hundred in anticipation of Mr. Capote's party.)

The country was shortly covered by parallel, horizontal layers of familiarity. The American Medical Association was formed in 1847, the National Education Association in 1857, the

American Bankers Association in 1875, the American Bar Association in 1878, the National Association of Manufacturers in 1895.

On ladders within these structures, able young men from geographically diverse areas could become noticed, and rise. With improvements in technology, the ladders have been mechanized: ascent by escalator is now both faster and easier.

Twentieth-Century Advancements

It was the end of the first quarter of the 20th century, however, before these horizontal layers were connected vertically. This happened when Washington changed from a sleepy town on the Potomac, where the Congress held its not-too-prolonged sessions, into an active national capital. The exigencies of World War I summoned men from a newly widened range of occupations; the exigencies of the Great Depression accelerated the trend.

Existing layers of familiarity were then sliced vertically. With the creation of cross-section policy-making and administering bodies, with personnel selected to include business, labor, agriculture, and the professions, new types of contacts and new lines of advancement appeared.

As government administration began to draw from diverse sources that had hitherto ignored it as unattractive, a certain number of magnificent patrons made placement their specialty. Felix Frankfurter placed the Harvard Law School; Max Gardner specialized in Southerners. Following US entry into World War II, the War Production Board and other agencies bent on recruiting industrial talent cleared it with Sidney Weinberg.

Even pure scientists, then the most nonpolitical of animals, were integrated with government policy-makers,

The Establishment, USA

HELEN HILL MILLER

Following World War I, according to Miller, a national "establishment" was constructed out of leading elements of the national community who had previously been either distant or hostile. This new national "power structure," she claims, often found its prime recruits after World War II with the aid of two institutions: the CIA and the private foundations. Selection of establishment members came to be systematized and carried on with such a degree of technical proficiency, she says, that a file of 25,000 key establishment names was put on punch cards and carefully kept current.

The "punch card" mentality, as a mode of testing, judging, and selecting elites has gained increasing influence in our society. Nowhere are such narrow, limited, and essentially sterile devices in greater vogue than in the schools and in higher education.

Over the past decade, a new word has entered the vocabulary of American public life, and with it, a new concept. "The establishment" recognizes the appearance of a unified national power structure. Membership and/or advancement in it has become a ranking objective in the career planning of the able American young.

Britain has had a national establishment since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. The British version developed on the basis of family, and the hierarchies of church and state into whose service the younger sons of established families moved. The screening provided by Oxford and Cambridge in the form of the class earned by a student when he took his final "schools"—a first was a passport with many visas—and by the civil serv-

ice through its competitive examinations, sifted out a certain number of the less able scions of established families and permitted entry by a certain number of the more able lads from families that Debrett never knew. Subsequently, the old-boy and the old-school-tie networks operated as effective placement agencies.

When the French Revolutionaries threw out the *ancien régime* based on breeding, and turned to documentary affirmation of the rights of man, they established intellect as the national organizing structure. To provide equitable measurement of ability as between citizen and citizen, standardized schools, in which every class did the same thing as every other class at the same time, and standardized examinations, facilitated *la carrière ouverte aux talents*.

In its written documents, eighteenth-century America favored the French

Helen Hill Miller, "The Establishment, USA," *The New Republic*, January 14, 1967. © 1967, Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.

ceive scholarships of about as many more. The national basis of the selection, the high visibility that the Corporation has secured for the winners, and the fact that under the terms of the scholarship they may use the funds at the university of their choice anywhere in the country, have concentrated top talent from all over the nation and from all types of family background in a very small number of leading colleges and universities. There are in the country some 4,275 four-year accredited institutions; a study of the preferences of the young men and women who win NMSF scholarships shows almost exactly the same list of top-ranking names year after year. Among boys, the 10 most popular colleges and universities are: MIT, Harvard, Stanford, Caltech, the University of California, Yale, Princeton, Cornell, Columbia, the University of Michigan. Girls' preferences: Stanford, Radcliffe, Cornell, the University of California, the University of Michigan, Wellesley, Duke, Northwestern, Columbia, Smith.

Age of Paper Records

At a time when British education is broadening its Oxbridge tolerances to admit that virtue can also be housed in red brick, American concentration of its intellectual elite has moved swiftly in the opposite direction. As a result, a small number of men at the apex of the American academic community, men who for the most part are now active placement agents not only in the hiring halls run by the professional societies at annual meeting time but in Washington's corridors of power, have a collective opportunity to look over the best of the entire new crop by simply consulting their class registers.

This enhancement in recognition, though it has the advantage of render-

ing compassable the placement as well as the selection of a cross-section intellectual elite, has its dangers. A truth-in-packaging bill is perhaps needed in the intellectual marketplace: nationalization of the educational establishment puts on intellectual products the kind of approval available to industrial goods sold under national brand names. The young person who bears an attested nationally known label gets many more first refusals than the certified output of a less-well-known source.

This is an age of paper records; in so large a population it would be very difficult to start the selection process otherwise. But it makes counselors daily stress to students they interview that the records they make now will follow them all the days of their lives, and they do. The student who is bright, works hard, and makes no mistake from the time he or she enters high school is bound to have an impressive record.

Recently, an interviewer from a major corporation, visiting an Ivy League campus, was at pains to make clear to the dean his intention of drawing only on the top 10 percent of the class. For the XYZ Corporation, nothing less would do. Later in the day, the dean casually inquired as to his visitor's own class rank. "Well, actually," came the reluctant reply, "I was in the bottom half of my class . . . but there were special circumstances, and that was a long time ago."

If mathematical probability continues to give the top 10 percenters an automatic Head Start, will a future talent search have to be instituted under the name of Bottoms Up?

An interesting differentiation is appearing between the criteria of choices among able young people made by eminent hard scientists and by those eminent in such fields as industry, finance and government. As younger

and though they might be superstitious about walking under, let alone up, the ladders placed in their paths by OSRD and NSF, the ladders were there, and the new men of the era after the Manhattan Project mounted high with agility.

After World War II, two institutional structures became prime recruiters of the new establishment. In government, the CIA's personnel moved readily from anonymity to prominence in parallel positions at State and Defense. Outside, but constantly looking, and often dropping in, executives of the major foundations have been observing where the action is and have become promoters of promotions in all sectors.

But it was the Kennedy Administration that systematized the nationalization of the establishment. The intensive pre-inaugural talent search, begun immediately after the election, was staffed by full-time sophisticates, and the prestige of government service in an administration with flair and style broke up the old clichés about go-by-the-book bureaucracy. Social expectations, even in industrial milieus, began to include public service along with private activities.

Membership in one of the large number of task forces set up to funnel new ideas into the White House was an exhilarating novelty; their rosters assured findings that would not duplicate long-reached conclusions of the professional establishments attached to their subject matter—a report on education, for example, would differ from the standard ticket of the educational associations.

Under President Johnson, technical devices have put the new national establishment on a push-button basis. By making John Macy both head of the federal civil service and the President's man on top political appoint-

ments in the White House, a central focus has been given the talent search. And in November 1964, LBJ authorized a computerization of this search.

Taking its code from the Census of Manufacturers' 1960 list of the positions of all kinds that exist in the country, punch cards on high talent in the automated file room now afford a selection from some 25,000 names. (New ones are added at the rate of about 10 a day; old ones are updated or removed as the result of hawk-like scanning of news-columns announcing promotions and retirements, and obits.) Five-hundred categories of skill are recognized; the roster can be electronically activated to recover individuals of given skills sorted according to their present position and title, their state, the number and fields of their degrees, whether they were born before or after a given year. The sources of names include *Who's Who*, rosters of professional societies, industrial and other directories, as well as recommendations sent in to the President by congressmen and others.

While these structures and devices have been determining the shape of the national establishment in respect to already developed talent, other new structures and devices have been furthering the identification of young potential.

The GI Bill of Rights opened sudden doors to upgrading of skills by over seven-and-three-quarter million young veterans, many of whom would have been financially unable to open a career to their talents without its aid. The National Merit Scholarship Corporation, founded in 1955, has assured the financial ability to attend college of some 1,600 young men and women annually by means of a widely advertised national competition, and, by publishing the names of its semi-finalists, enhanced the opportunities to re-

colleagues, the hard scientists want brilliant thinkers and investigators. A student's other qualifications are irrelevant. If he is uncouth, well, he is uncouth, but this characteristic has little to do with his performance in the laboratory.

Other areas of the establishment react quite otherwise: couthness may not come before content, but in social fields content is hard to measure accurately, and most of the new jobs have representational aspects. Among the eminent, a physical scientist can well afford to be known as a crusty old codger, but not so an executive vice president, a foundation director, or even the college president who presides over the codger. A recent study of scholarship recipients indicated that among girls whose rated ability was equal, the fat ones appeared to receive awards less often than those who were observed to walk, not waddle.

All establishments have problems.

When deprived of its "lost generation" by the slaughter of World War I, the British establishment paid the price of drawing its leadership from too narrow a base. Present enlargement of the British effort to teach their children how to speak is causing the pangs of integration described in depth in *My Fair Lady*.

Over the decades, Republican France interpolated into its standardized approach to intellectual excellence the equally standardized approach to corruption analyzed by that comparably sensitive study, *Topaze*—and invited the return of tyranny.

In the United States, the development of a national establishment is being plagued by the problem of numbers. Until fairly late in the selection process, an input based on percentiles and computer cards is never touched by human hands, let alone by risk-taking imagination.

Who Should Control Education?

CHRISTOPHER JENCKS

The control of education became a heated national issue during the 1960's. While in previous generations, control had rested rather comfortably, if not lethargically, in the hands of local school boards and, increasingly, those of administrators who run the schools, during the sixties other groups rose to contest this control. Within the educational profession, these groups were comprised of classroom teachers and the spokesmen for liberal arts colleges. Outside the profession, the contest was entered by civil rights groups, interested citizens, and students.

Many of the key elements of this struggle, especially within the profession, are discussed by Jencks: the power and new responsibilities of educational institutions, the authority of higher education, the middle class dominance in the schools, the power of professionals, and other matters pertaining to the politics and "power structure" of education.

Christopher Jencks, "Who Should Control Education?" *Dissent*, March-April, 1966.

of resources; it is that they are part of the system which produces the disorders. The resulting limitations are illustrated by looking closely at one of the many problems education is normally expected to solve: poverty.

American society is organized on the assumption that if you want to live comfortably you have to perform some kind of work which society values. Those who cannot perform such work are, with certain exceptions, condemned to live at or below the subsistence level. It is therefore usually assumed that the cure for poverty is an educational system which gives everyone the skills for doing some kind of valuable work. In other words, if everyone were literate, ambitious, and socially poised, everyone could earn a comfortable middle-class living.

Unfortunately, however, skills are not absolute but relative—and hence competitive. If the least adept students are given slightly better instruction, while instruction of the most adept gets substantially better, the competitive position of the least adept will deteriorate rather than improve. If that happens, poverty will grow more widespread. If the schools want to end poverty, they must not only improve the position of the poor pupils; *they must improve it faster than they improve the position of the rest of the pupils.* Parents of the better pupils (middle-class parents by and large) inevitably resist such efforts. They do not, of course, defend giving the inept students an inept teacher or poorly equipped classroom. But they do not want talented teachers diverted from work with gifted children to "remedial" or "vocational" work, nor do they want improvement of slum schools given higher priority than the improvement of their own schools. The middle classes realize quite well that American life is competitive, and

that if their children are to prosper they must get "the best" education. Both "the best" and "the worst" are defined by comparison with the rest. If "the worst" gets better, then middle-class parents will want "the best" improved even more. Given today's political realities, educators can seldom resist such middle-class demands. Nor do most educators have an impulse to resist, even if they could. They typically argue that "the best way to improve the education system is to start at the top." This is probably true. But improving the system in this way will do nothing to eliminate poverty, and may even intensify it. If we want to end poverty we must concentrate not on increasing the absolute educational level of the population but on narrowing the gap between the best educated and the worst educated.

As this example suggests, the social role of education is at bottom a political rather than a technical question. Schools and colleges can only play a major role in solving America's social problems if control over them passes to new individuals and interests which expect to benefit from solving these problems. If the poor, for example, want to narrow the gap between what their children learn in school and what the children of the middle classes learn, they will have to fight for a larger voice in the allocation of personnel and money among competing schools and competing programs within schools.

A radical analysis of American education must, then, begin by focusing on the question of who controls our schools and colleges. At first glance this appears to be a fairly simple question, which can be answered by studying the legislators, philanthropists, and parents who put up most of the money for education, and the boards of education and trustees which nom-

mobility which has made it easier for children to anticipate that they will sooner or later be freed from the parental shadow has also made it possible for every one to change churches more easily, creating a buyer's market in religion. The growing complexity of the economy has created a variety of occupations which rival or surpass the clergy in erudition and breadth of experience, thereby reducing the authority of the pulpit as the arbiter of community morals. As a result, education has become a kind of secular religion, and teachers a sort of lay clergy.

Industry is also eager to transfer responsibility for the socialization and training of prospective employees to the schools. Employers have wanted to put vocational and professional training under public auspices to save themselves money and effort. Labor unions, professional associations and the like wanted their training programs in schools and colleges to give their callings status. Both have agreed that such a transfer of responsibility would provide more equality of opportunity and more assurance that the young would get high quality training. The roots of this change go back to the nineteenth century, when schools of medicine, law, and theology were established in the better American universities. In this same era land-grant colleges were set up to provide scientific training for farmers and engineers. Later, with the help of federal grants-in-aid, vocational training won a place in the secondary schools. In recent decades even business and public administration, the last prestigious holdouts against professionalization and academic preparation, have begun to fall into line. Today there is little real debate about the necessity of providing occupational training in school as well as (and in some measure instead of) on the job. The only seri-

ous debate is whether particular kinds of training need be extensive or brief, and at which educational level they should be provided.

It is clear, then, that schools and colleges are being asked to assume a large measure of responsibility for the personalities, attitudes and competence of the next generation. It is also clear that they are not set up to meet this responsibility. In the first place, America has assigned a comparatively small share of her resources to the task. Expenditures on education are usually reckoned at between five and six per cent of the Gross National Product. Less than three per cent of the adult population is employed in teaching, and except at the graduate level and in a few colleges this three per cent includes only a few of America's most talented men and women. Even our commitment of time may well be inadequate for the tasks we expect to accomplish in the classroom. The average American goes to school only 12 years out of almost 70, and during those years he is in school only about 180 days out of 365, and usually only about 6 hours each day. He devotes only about two per cent of his lifetime to formal education. Academically talented or socially fortunate children are, of course, likely to give more of their lives to educational institutions: often as much as four, and sometimes even six per cent. In some of these cases the impact of what happens in school is so strong that it helps shape the rest of the student's life. But this is the exception. Often enough, life outside the school is so much more compelling than life inside that a student is psychologically absent even during the hours he spends in class.

The basic reason why schools and colleges cannot cure our major social disorders is not, however, their lack

gineers, economists, and literary critics, as well as many of the leading businessmen, government officials, and even military officers. They put an imprimatur on the young which tells outsiders that a particular man is an insider. They also shape the state of mind which this imprimatur symbolizes: acceptance of the needs of your employer-client, be he the Pentagon or a neurotic four year old, as legitimate and inevitable; keeping personal feelings and emotional impulses to yourself; knowing more about the problems you tackle than anyone else; not getting hung up on questions that are too big or too fundamental to be "manageable." Over any considerable period of time the men who teach in America's leading graduate schools determine for the rest of us not only what is true and what is false but in large measure what is "done" and "not done." Since the graduate schools are usually a generation ahead of whatever segment of the society they lead, their influence at any particular moment always looks modest. Over the years, however, they are perhaps the single most important source of innovation in society.

There are, of course, differences among graduate schools. The world of medicine is not the same as the world of physics, economic advice is not offered in quite the same way as legal advice, literary criticism requires a different temperament from library management. And all these differences are mirrored in the graduate schools. Nevertheless, the similarities between graduate programs are generally more striking than the differences. I shall therefore lump all of these programs under the general rubric "graduate schools," and will assume that all graduate schools are professional schools, even when the "profession" for which they prepare is archaeology or musicology.

Standing as they do at the crossroads between education and employment, the graduate schools have enormous potential influence on the rest of education. Nor have they been slow to exercise this influence. The customs and concerns of the graduate schools increasingly mold undergraduate education. This applies not only to undergraduate education in the universities but to the supposedly independent liberal arts colleges, and even colleges nominally dedicated to saving souls, training teachers and preparing young ladies to become Southern matrons.

The reasons for this hegemony are several. First, the graduate schools are the principal source of college teachers. These teachers tend to regard their years in graduate school as a model of what all education should be like. They seek to re-create this model in the college, both by adding graduate programs and by reorganizing undergraduate programs in the image of graduate ones. A second reason for the hegemony of the graduate schools is that the proportion of undergraduates who plan to go on to graduate school appears to be steadily increasing. As a result, the faculty has more leverage in its struggle to impose graduate school standards on undergraduates. The student who a generation ago would not have cared whether he got an "A" or a "C" in European History now does care. This means that his professors can make him act like an apprentice historian while he is enrolled in the course. And now that he sees himself as a prospective graduate student he is often *eager* to play the amateur Ranke. There are, of course, still plenty of colleges where the majority of students reject all this and intend to go to work in what they see as an anti-intellectual business community. But such colleges and such students have less status than their

inally control most schools and colleges. This kind of analysis shows quite clearly that education is a virtual monopoly of the middle classes, and that the great conflicts are in large part intra-class conflicts. The battle over church-state relations, for example, is largely a struggle between middle-class Catholics who want "the best" education for their child and don't want to pay for it twice, and the middle-class non-Catholics who think religious separatism a national menace. The battle over racial segregation, too, is largely a struggle between lower-middle-class Negroes who want to escape the ghetto mentality and lower-middle-class whites whose status and self-assurance are too fragile to accept Negroes as equals. (This is not to say that poor Negroes accept segregation willingly. But for the most part they are not ready to organize and they are more interested in new buildings and good teachers than in integration *per se*.)

Most conflicts over education are not, however, conflicts among lay interests but between one or another lay group and the professionals. Formally, of course, these battles are fought in the lay arena. Typically there is a "liberal" group which takes its cues from the professionals and supports their demands, and a "conservative" group which opposes the dominant professional opinion on the subject. The classic example of this pattern is, of course, the perennial struggle over educational finances, in which the educators ask for more money, the "liberals" support the demand, and the "conservatives" oppose it. Another recurrent example is the struggle for "academic freedom," a term which can mean almost anything but is generally used in debates about the political, theological or moral content of a teacher's classes or reading lists. Again,

the pattern is one in which the "liberals" support professional autonomy while the "conservatives" argue for the layman's right to decide what goes on in a school or college. With the major exceptions of racial and religious questions, this pattern characterizes almost the full range of educational politics. Sooner or later (mostly later) victory in such struggles usually goes to the liberals. The result is that the educators have more and more control both over their own affairs and over their students'. The reasons for this trend deserve careful attention, for until they are understood it is impossible to map a realistic program of educational reform, radical or otherwise.

II

Ours is an academic age. All of the major professions have come to depend on universities, not just to train their recruits but to provide old-timers with new techniques and ideas. Business and government are in many respects as dependent on the universities as the professions are. The universities generate many of the ideas which give politicians and civil servants a sense of purpose; they invent many of the scientific and managerial techniques which make it possible for both governmental and corporate bureaucracies to achieve their purposes; and they train men to do the more complicated jobs in business and government. Even such a symbolically pre-academic man as the yeoman farmer has come to depend on the university extension service.

The vital link between formal education and workaday world is usually the graduate professional school. The schools, concentrated in a few dozen universities, train almost all the important educators, doctors, lawyers, &c.

of high school students who graduate and go on to college is rising steadily, and this means that more and more high school students care about good grades and can be forced to do whatever academic tasks their teachers set for them.

These changes have many by-products. The "curriculum reform" movement, for example, is primarily an effort to remake the secondary (and to a lesser extent, the elementary) curriculum in the image of the college and the graduate school curricula—only better. Professors from the leading universities have been involved in preparing curriculum materials and in training teachers to use them. "Advanced placement" courses are another sign of the times. High school teachers of these courses give instruction which is avowedly and deliberately similar to what has traditionally been given to college freshmen, and many colleges now give credit for such work if students do sufficiently well on a national exam devised for the purpose. The growing emphasis on academic preparation for secondary teachers, and the feeling that the skills and training required for a college teacher are essentially the same as those required for a high school teacher, are a natural consequence of such trends.

In the elementary and secondary schools as in the colleges, the power of lay boards of control appears to be diminishing. Partly this is a financial change. The local school board depends more and more upon state and federal assistance to balance its budget and is therefore subject to the decisions of state and federal legislators about how money should be spent. For a variety of reasons best known to politicians, the professional educators seem to have substantially more influence over decisions made at the

state and federal level than over decisions made locally. One reason may be that state and federal legislators are typically better educated than the local school board members, and may therefore be more deferential toward the claims of educators. Then too, neither state nor federal legislators can easily punish educators who mobilize public opinion against them or try to push them in directions they don't want to go. The teacher who criticizes a local school board, on the other hand, may find himself unemployed. Yet even at the local level teachers have in recent years shown unprecedented readiness to organize, lobby for better schools, and withdraw their services if they don't get what they want. While much of the controversy over teachers' unions, strikes, and "professional sanctions" has focused on salaries, the teacher's right to a direct voice in shaping school policy has also been a vital issue.

What do these developments portend for the future? So far as educators are concerned, the picture seems clear. They are building a unified educational system, running from preschool to graduate school, all of whose parts will be increasingly articulated with one another. The wellsprings of authority in this system will be the graduate schools, which have direct contact with the dominant institutions in the larger society and which therefore embody and symbolize the demands of the "real" world. The leading universities will have far more influence on the rest of the educational system than the system has on them. This will be clear to teachers at all levels, and the result will be an increasingly widespread desire to work in a major university where most research will be done, where most graduate students will be trained, and where the rest of the educational sys-

more academically rigorous competitors and are increasingly on the defensive. Everyone concerned agrees that the graduate schools are the wave of the future.

If outside laymen still controlled colleges as tightly as they once did, the recruitment and expectations of faculty and students might make little difference. But the fact is that college trustees and administrators are more and more responsive to the collective views of the academic profession, less and less to other pressures. As a result, college faculties have increasing power to shape their institutions. One reason for this is the rising importance of federal and foundation support, compared to such traditional sources as state legislatures and alumni. Both the foundations and the federal government are inclined to consult professional rather than lay opinion in deciding how to spend their money. They also often deal with faculty members rather than going through administrators and trustees. Thus the faculty have more independent initiative, and the trustees and administrators are more dependent on the faculty to bring in money. With so much money available for research, even institutions which have done little to push back the intellectual frontiers are anxious to do more—or at least to seem to do more. This anxiety has produced an unprecedented concern about the elusive attribute "quality," as well as about its more measurable (if largely meaningless) counterpart, "credentials." Faced with a shortage of distinguished or even competent scholars, boards of trustees and administrators have nevertheless shown unprecedented eagerness to maintain standards, and in many cases have even struggled to raise them. As a result, colleges compete to improve salaries and working conditions. More

and more faculty can "write their own ticket."

The rising bargaining power of the academic profession and its rising prestige in the eyes of laymen have reduced the control of the special interest groups which founded most colleges: the Catholics and Baptists, the Negroes and Irish, the teachers and farmers, the feminists and aristocrats, the home town boosters and regional patriots. Academicians are subject to less direct pressure from these groups, either with regard to their own affairs or in their dealings with the young. Indeed, academicians are more and more looked to by these interests to mediate between their traditional claims and the newer, more cosmopolitan and "national" vision of society which many members of these groups see emerging. This does not, of course, mean that academic and professional freedom is universal or irreversible; but any look at the past suggests that the trend is toward more and more autonomy for the professors, less and less authority for the laymen.

Nor is this trend confined to the colleges. It is also apparent, if to a lesser extent, in the elementary and secondary schools. Indeed, the relationship between graduate and undergraduate instruction is in many respects paralleled by that between undergraduate and secondary education. Most of the secondary school teachers have been trained in the colleges (some have also had some graduate work), and their definitions of what is worth knowing and how it should be taught are at least partially acquired in college. These colleges, moreover, are increasingly cosmopolitan. The old teachers college in which the student never met a creative scholar or scientist is slowly on the way out.

At the same time, the proportion

lected scholarship students now found in the better private schools.

The present influence of the elite undergraduate college may be further eroded if, as seems likely, it becomes increasingly difficult for *any* undergraduate program to attract big-name teachers. Without distinguished faculties, the difference between an elite residential college and a "comprehensive" commuter college will be more and more a matter of "tradition," and "atmosphere." How many parents will be willing to spend a large fraction of their income on such "intangibles" if there is a cheap and respectable public college just around the corner, and if this college seems to ensure its more gifted BA's entry into the nation's top graduate schools? Parental reluctance to invest large sums in undergraduate education may be particularly marked if federal support for graduate students lags behind costs, so that the parents expect to be asked for substantial contributions to their children's graduate education. Only the most prosperous parents, who can afford to support their children at *both* levels, seem likely to opt for expensive undergraduate education. In this respect, as in others, the undergraduate pattern of tomorrow is likely to mirror the secondary school pattern of today.

Students in this system will find themselves under pressure to grow up faster than they have in the past. Educators generally, and university scholars particularly, tend to gear the educational program to precocious and talented youngsters such as they themselves usually were. Today this tendency is somewhat restrained by the power of laymen. Parents, speaking through the board of education, complain if their children are worked too hard or "can't keep up." Students both in school and college conspire tacitly or explicitly to restrict output.

For reasons already suggested, however, these limitations on academic power and pressure are diminishing, and the pace of learning is accelerating. Today's students study languages in elementary school which were once saved for secondary school, they read books in high school that were once read only in college, and they write papers and perform experiments in college which would once have been reserved to graduate students. Conversely, students whose failure to learn was once accepted as normal and predictable are now defined as "problems," and are segregated into "remedial" programs of one kind or another.

III

What is an appropriate radical response to these developments—assuming I have predicted them accurately? First, it seems to me the radical must ask how such a system of education is going to affect the character of the larger society. Will changes of the kind I have predicted cure any of the present diseases of American society? Will they stimulate any new ones? Second, a radical must ask whether the emerging system of education will be good in its own right, i.e., will those who teach and learn and live within the system find it more satisfying than they find the present system?

The impact of the emerging system of education on American society is far from clear, but at least in some respects trouble appears likely. We seem to be headed for a world in which everyone will spend more time in the classroom and related activities, in which performance in these activities will be more important for success elsewhere, and in which the larger society will increasingly mirror the values and organization of the classroom.

tem will be increasingly shaped. The teachers will, moreover, find it easier than in the past to satisfy their perennial impulse to work in or near the centers of power and influence. Graduate programs will undergo enormous expansion, creating more jobs for men with good scholarly credentials. This will not only decimate undergraduate classrooms but lure many talented teachers away from the elementary and secondary schools.

The hegemony of the universities will almost certainly accelerate the nationalization of the whole educational system. Already the academic profession has an essentially national outlook, and tends to be impatient with the parochial interests of local boards who assume that the educational system under their control should have a special mission or standards. Academicians use whatever leverage they have to enforce their more universalistic viewpoint, and they find that the federal civil service and to a lesser extent the President and the Congress are their natural allies in such struggles. Thus there will be more and more pressure for federal "leadership" and federal "standards" at all levels, and the result will be more federal "control."

For the students, a system dominated by the academic profession and the top universities will mean several changes. First, and perhaps most important, such a system will be increasingly organized and run on the assumption that students at each level are going on to the next level. The high schools will be run for the benefit of those who plan to attend college, the colleges will be run for those who plan to attend graduate school. At any particular level, this assumption will be correct for more and more students, even though in the foreseeable future the great majority will continue

to drop out *somewhere* along the path to a graduate degree. The dropouts, however, will be more and more on the defensive in the nonacademic world. Adults will assume that a "normal" youngster should go on to get a graduate degree, and that those who fail to follow this course are stupid, rebellious, inflexible, or in some other way socially tainted. As a result, there will be a growing consensus among educators and laymen that "improving" education at each level consists not of preparing students better for the non-academic world, but preparing them better for the next higher level.

These trends will affect students in several ways. For one thing, the present emphasis on admission to the "right" college will probably be more and more overshadowed and supplanted by emphasis on admission to the "right" graduate school. Students will tend to view college as they now view secondary school: mainly as a way-station from which one progresses to the next level. Many such students will, I think, be willing to attend "comprehensive" public commuter colleges during their undergraduate years, just as they now attend comprehensive public high schools. In that event the undergraduate colleges attached to major universities may go the same way as the academic high schools of an earlier era: surviving and even prospering, but still appealing only to a small, cosmopolitan and highly motivated minority. Similarly, the private residential liberal arts college may, like the boarding school of an earlier era, price itself out of reach of most families. (Costs have in recent years risen much faster than personal incomes.) Some such colleges may fold, while the rest will come to serve the same mixture of education-conscious upper-middle class families and carefully se-

lected scholarship students now found in the better private schools.

The present influence of the elite undergraduate college may be further eroded if, as seems likely, it becomes increasingly difficult for *any* undergraduate program to attract big-name teachers. Without distinguished faculties, the difference between an elite residential college and a "comprehensive" commuter college will be more and more a matter of "tradition," and "atmosphere." How many parents will be willing to spend a large fraction of their income on such "intangibles" if there is a cheap and respectable public college just around the corner, and if this college seems to ensure its more gifted BA's entry into the nation's top graduate schools? Parental reluctance to invest large sums in undergraduate education may be particularly marked if federal support for graduate students lags behind costs, so that the parents expect to be asked for substantial contributions to their children's graduate education. Only the most prosperous parents, who can afford to support their children at *both* levels, seem likely to opt for expensive undergraduate education. In this respect, as in others, the undergraduate pattern of tomorrow is likely to mirror the secondary school pattern of today.

Students in this system will find themselves under pressure to grow up faster than they have in the past. Educators generally, and university scholars particularly, tend to gear the educational program to precocious and talented youngsters such as they themselves usually were. Today this tendency is somewhat restrained by the power of laymen. Parents, speaking through the board of education, complain if their children are worked too hard or "can't keep up." Students both in school and college conspire tacitly or explicitly to restrict output.

For reasons already suggested, however, these limitations on academic power and pressure are diminishing, and the pace of learning is accelerating. Today's students study languages in elementary school which were once saved for secondary school, they read books in high school that were once read only in college, and they write papers and perform experiments in college which would once have been reserved to graduate students. Conversely, students whose failure to learn was once accepted as normal and predictable are now defined as "problems," and are segregated into "remedial" programs of one kind or another.

III

What is an appropriate radical response to these developments—assuming I have predicted them accurately? First, it seems to me the radical must ask how such a system of education is going to affect the character of the larger society. Will changes of the kind I have predicted cure any of the present diseases of American society? Will they stimulate any new ones? Second, a radical must ask whether the emerging system of education will be good in its own right, i.e., will those who teach and learn and live within the system find it more satisfying than they find the present system?

The impact of the emerging system of education on American society is far from clear, but at least in some respects trouble appears likely. We seem to be headed for a world in which everyone will spend more time in the classroom and related activities, in which performance in these activities will be more important for success elsewhere, and in which the larger society will increasingly mirror the values and organization of the classroom.

student is not comfortable with the style which dominates his institution, if he does not find that the attitudes and talents of its leading crowd complement his own, he must either go underground or elsewhere. In most cases he can go underground only at great cost to himself, and elsewhere only at great cost to his parents. As a result, many young people spend years in institutions they hate, learn very little, and drop out too soon to have much chance of realizing their potential as adults.

What can be done to remedy this situation? One possibility is to try to make schools and colleges more pluralistic, encouraging faculty to teach in more ways and students to create more sub-cultures within each institution. Once educators have got done denying that the problem doesn't exist, they usually make suggestions of this kind. As a practical matter, however, pluralism within institutions has both limitations and drawbacks.

The limitations derive from the fact of central administration and from the desire of most teachers to work with colleagues who differ from themselves along only a few dimensions. The consequences of central administration vary, of course, according to the administrative system and the philosophy on which it operates. University administrators are usually readier than school administrators to allow a variety of distinctive or even conflicting enterprises within their bailiwick. But it is almost impossible to find administrators at any level who can take responsibility for actively promoting a wide variety of contradictory programs. The most one can hope for is an administrator who will hire subordinates of quite different outlooks and then let them ride off in all directions. Even this is rare.

The power of a single organization to move in diverse directions is usu-

ally limited not only by the top man but by the staff. Especially in colleges and universities, where the faculty expect to play a major role in choosing their colleagues, there is normally great resistance to establishing new programs which will bring radically different sorts of instructors into the club. Indeed, there is often strong resistance even to allowing faculty who are already in the club to undertake radically new programs which seem to constitute an indictment of the status quo. A college professor has a great deal of freedom to teach *what* he pleases, and a school teacher has some, but neither is free to decide *how* to teach—whether in large groups or small, in departmentalized courses or others, one day a week or five. The limits are as often imposed by colleagues anxious to preserve standards and “continuity” as by administrators. There is nowhere near as much freedom to organize one's own teaching projects in an idiosyncratic way as there is with research projects.

Even if these problems could be solved, the drive for pluralism would entail major sacrifices. The most important problem is size. If an institution wants to be all things to all people, it must be large. At the college level, a small, manageable student body will not usually have enough students interested in politics to sustain a group of left- or right-wing activists. If it does, there will not be enough journalists to put out a good newspaper or enough squares to sustain the fraternities. Similarly, a small junior high school will not have enough bookish students to sustain an intellectual sub-culture, nor will it have enough potential junkies to support a narcotics salesman.

Bigness has many advantages, especially for the student with unusual talent, energy or interests who can master a complex environment. But

for many students bigness is an invitation to passivity and anomie. One reason is that while increased enrollment brings an increase in the number and variety of student activities, the latter never increase in proportion to the former. No matter how big the place gets, there is only one student paper, one band, one football team, one valedictorian and so forth. Competition for these slots therefore grows more intense as size increases. The quality of performance in each activity is better, but fewer students participate actively. Many students must gain whatever satisfaction they can from watching classmates they hardly know perform with skill they cannot equal. In a large student body, no matter how carefully selected, many individuals find they have no special contribution to make, no well-defined role to give them a sense of being valued, and every reason to assume that they are regarded as expendable.

Size tends to affect not only the relationship among students but that between students and adults. As student sub-cultures grow more diverse and encompass more of the students' lives, their dependence on adults seems in some respects to diminish. This may be fine from the students' viewpoint, but it frees them for foolish as well as wise experiments. The anonymity of a large institution can lead to tragedy as well as emancipation. Indeed, it is perhaps the possibility of the former which encourages the latter. For the many youngsters who are born tragedy-prone, such an educational setting is a mistake.

For all of these reasons, an educational system which aspires to offer the young both a manageable environment and a wide range of choice should not try to make each of its enterprises all things to all people. Instead, a system with such aims must

try to establish a wide variety of somewhat specialized and distinctive institutions, each following its unique path, each doing only what its staff can do well, each attracting its own constituency and serving that constituency in its own way. Some of these institutions should be large, others small, but in each case the aim should be to determine size according to the needs of the teachers and students rather than on the basis of administrative convenience or logistic pressure.

The first step toward the establishment of such an educational system would be to abandon the tradition that education should be rooted in geography. According to this venerable notion, the best educational system is one in which everyone who lives in a particular area attends school or college with everyone else living in that area. This assumption is now firmly established in the elementary schools, largely dominant in the secondary schools, and for reasons already indicated is spreading to the colleges. Its justification is twofold. First, it is cheap and convenient. Transportation costs are cut to a minimum for the young, and even college students are spared the expense of living away from home. Second, certain communities have a wide spread of incomes and personalities. This means that schools and colleges rooted in these communities seem very "democratic." We are, however, more and more an urban people, whose rich live in suburbs and whose poor live in slums. There are fewer and fewer communities in which a "local" school or college is heterogeneous and more in which it is economically and/or ethnically homogeneous. This pattern is extremely obvious in elementary education, increasingly so in junior and senior highs, and has begun to appear even in higher education. As the cost of living

away from home rises, and as youthful unemployment makes it harder for poor students to earn enough to meet this cost, the children of the slums who want to go to college will be under growing pressure to attend the local commuter college. Efforts to provide government scholarships which would give such students a wider range of choice have come to little.

What is the alternative? First, every effort must be made to ensure that students and parents have complete freedom to choose among all the various schools and colleges in the nation. This means that a child living in one part of town must be allowed to apply for a school in another part on precisely the same basis as a child who lives around the corner from the school in question. It means that a student who wants to attend a university which is 200 (or 2000) miles from his home should be given as much assistance as he needs to pay his room and board bills rather than being forced by poverty to attend a junior college to which he can commute. Perhaps most important, it means that a student who wants to attend a private school or college should get the same subsidy from the state as a student who wants to attend a public school or college, so long as the private institution meets minimal criteria established by the state.

The essential principle of such an educational system would be that the needs of individual students have primacy over the needs of institutions, public or private, and that subsidies will be spent on the kinds of education parents and students want, not on the kind politicians want and control. This principle could be realized either by making all subsidies take the form of tuition grants or by paying public funds to schools and colleges according to the number, level and perhaps the

incapacity to pay of their students. The essential point in either case would be to use the market mechanism to ensure that the allocation of resources among competing schools and colleges was in the hands of students and parents.

The value of such a system depends, of course, on the amount of real diversity it creates. Little will be gained by providing more choice if this turns out to be between hundreds of virtually identical institutions. To avoid this we must make a real effort to promote experimentation and to create specialized schools catering to various minority tastes. In part, of course, the proposed reorganization of the academic marketplace will do this, for if a special-purpose school, either public or private, can draw from all income groups and all geographic areas its chances of finding and retaining a stable constituency will be much greater than today. If we want to go very far in this direction, however, the administration of the public sector of the educational economy must be reorganized. If students have a choice about whether they attend a particular school or not, it should become politically possible to free the principal and staff of the school from many of the restrictions which now hem them in. If a principal wants to recruit a staff and set up a Montessori school, and if he can find parents who want to send their children to such a school, he should be free to follow his mission. If another principal wants to use McGuffey's reader, and if enough teachers and parents support this quaint notion, they should be free to do that too. If a school wants to recruit teachers without regard to the number of education courses they have taken, and if parents find the resulting program suits their children, this should be possible. If a public univer-

sity wants to hire fewer professors and pay higher salaries than its competitors, it should be free to take that approach so long as it can live within a standard allocation of money for each student. Public institutions, in other words, should wherever possible have the same kinds of autonomy that private institutions now have. At every level an effort should be made to reduce the distinction between the public and private sectors, encouraging them to compete on equal terms for students and allocating funds among them according to the number of students they attract.

In its pure form, the system I am advocating would give the professional educators absolute freedom to establish any kinds of schools and colleges they see fit, while giving parents and students absolute freedom to choose among these schools and colleges as they see fit. As a practical matter, however, this purity would have to be diluted in certain respects.

First, the public must be protected against fraud. This means that any school which receives public funds should be open to public inspection, and that the results of such inspection should be publicly available. An educational "consumers union" would also be useful in this context, and if millions of parents were suddenly free to choose among a variety of schools and colleges, such a union would probably spring up.

A second limitation emerges from the fact that in many parts of the country there is only one school within bussing distance of most families. If such families don't like the nearest school their only alternative is a boarding school. While this solution ought to be more widely available than it is, particularly to Negroes in the Deep South, it is not an appealing alternative to many families. In sparsely

settled areas and in smaller towns geography will have to remain one of the organizing principles of education. In such settings the professional educators' freedom to experiment must continue to be limited by what the local board of education judges acceptable to the community.

A third limitation is that there are some parents whose educational preferences do not deserve to be indulged, even if educators can be found to indulge them. Parents who want their children to attend all-white schools should not be allowed to use public funds to pursue this preference. Other restrictions would inevitably be imposed by the courts and by legislators. The courts would presumably hold, for example, that public funds could not go to a school or college which discriminated in favor of Catholics. They might also hold that public funds could not go to a school or college which held religious services on its premises—though this latter seems unlikely. Politicians in some areas might well feel that public funds should not be used to support and promote academic elitism, at least among the young. In that case they might require that a school receiving public support be open to all comers, regardless of IQ or academic record. This should not, in my view, prevent a school from setting up a strictly academic program geared to hard working and talented children; but there is much to be said for leaving the decision about whether to enter such a school to parents and students rather than to testers and teachers. (Teachers will no doubt disagree.)

With the safeguards outlined, a system of free choice could have an enormously beneficial effect on the American educational scene. The market mechanism is not, of course, foolproof; in areas where mass production or

national advertising is vitally important, a "free" market tends to produce oligopoly or monopoly, and the customer is often left with no real choice among products. But education does not appear to be an industry with such a propensity to concentration. Rather, it is an industry in which the small entrepreneur can often do his job as well as, or better than, the big time operator. Competition can and does flourish when the government does not rig the market. In such a market the consumer has a reasonable hope of getting what he wants—if the government gives him enough money to pay for it. A free market would, of course, reduce enrollment in publicly-controlled schools and increase enrollment in privately-controlled schools. But that is not in itself an argument against change. There is no inherent virtue in public administration of the schools any more than in public administration of universities, post offices or the

telephone system. One must judge by results, and today's largely public system of administration has produced neither an equitable nor an efficient and imaginative deployment of educational resources.

I have suggested that the major change now taking place in the educational system is the growing power of the professional educators, and I have argued that this will do little to solve the problems of most students. If we want a radical change in the present system, a mechanism must be found for offsetting the power of the profession. Sporadic reassertions of political control are not likely to turn the trick; indeed, many of the more common sorts of intervention by boards of laymen are likely to make matters worse. The only alternative that I can see is to establish a freer market and thus give more direct power to parents and students.

The White Problem

HERBERT GANS

Social and court action over school inequities and segregation opened a pandora's box of theories and projects relating to the "disadvantaged." The simple question posed was: What should we do to even the chances of the disadvantaged? Answers poured in from all directions—inside and outside the schools. Some met instantaneous death, some lingered, others lived and flourished. While the debate aroused interest and concern, and raised funds and aspirations, much of it, in academic and other circles, went up in steam or hot air. Gans has caricatured the least productive aspect of these debates, conducted as they usually were by white professionals in search of explanations and cures for the "Negro problem." The caricature is subtle and should be read with care to avoid misinterpretation.

Herbert J. Gans, "The White Problem," *Dissent*, September-October, 1966. Reprinted by permission of author and publisher.

As demographers had predicted ever since the 1960's, many American cities are now predominantly negro, and have elected negro mayors and city councils. This has generated widespread unrest among the minority White population, and as a result, the worried mayor of a large Eastern city recently called a conference of negro social scientists and White race leaders to discuss the White problem.

The conference was opened by a prominent educator who diagnosed the White problem in three ways. First, he demonstrated that the minority population has traditionally suffered from "muscular deprivation," which he traced to the failure of the White family to teach physical fitness to its children, making them unable to learn once they entered school. Or, as a flip-pant delegate later put it, "Mr. Charley just doesn't have a natural sense of rhythm."

Second, the educator pointed to "cognitive deterioration," a speech defect that had developed in 19th century universities and was being perpetuated by outmoded grammar texts used in minority public schools. This speech defect prevented children from talking in accepted 20th century ways, and created problems when they applied for jobs. Nor could the White youngsters hold jobs, he went on, because of their cultural predisposition to "careerism," a type of occupational motivation that encouraged them to prepare for only one kind of work, making them unemployable in a rapidly changing economy.

The next speaker, a social worker, talked about the "independency pattern," the Whites' inability to depend on others, and their need to do everything by themselves. As a result, they could not be reached by public welfare and case work techniques, would not accept job retraining, muscular enrich-

ment or aspirational counseling, and ultimately regressed into a state of despair he called ragged individualism.

Both analyses of the White problem were questioned by the luncheon speaker, a psychiatrist, who pointed out that in our leisure society, the emphasis on jobs and job training was misplaced. The real problem was the minority population's reluctance to relax and enjoy itself, which he traced to "deferred gratification," the tendency to put off having fun; and "reality obsession," the failure to escape which produced anxiety and even mental illness. As a result, Whites had become seriously addicted to nicotine, which was now leading to high rates of lung cancer, heart disease, and other forms of self-destruction.

These consequences were a natural outcome, he argued, of the centuries-long subjection to Puritanism, which forced men and women to spend all of their time either at work or at church and denied them the normal human emotional and sexual outlets.

He was followed on the podium by a minister, who agreed that Puritanism had done considerable damage in the past but felt recent White difficulties should be ascribed to "moral confusion," brought about by the illness and death of God. When the minority population was still a majority, it had committed immoral acts which it considered moral, among them waging war, cheating in school and defending monogamy while taking lovers or subscribing to Playboy. He called for the resurrection of the deity and the introduction of moral education courses in schools for the racially disadvantaged.

The afternoon session was given over to the White race leaders, who argued that the minority problem was fundamentally economic and political. There was neither enough work nor leisure to go around, and until the fed-

eral government stepped in to provide both, the retraining, enrichment and counseling schemes could only increase White despair. Moreover, they insisted, the Whites were suffering from powerlessness; being outvoted at the polls, they were subject to police brutality and to more subtle indignities from the very legal, educational and welfare agencies that were set up to help them. The negro population, one speaker suggested, had in the past suffered from similar degradations but had overcome them by protests, demonstrations and riots, while the Whites who valued order above all, could not use these methods. He argued for government programs to train the minority population in civil disobedience. A young radical who had tried to organize in minority neighborhoods, supported this proposal but added that the Whites' apathy resulted also from having too much money and proposed a revival of the positive income tax.

The conference received so much favorable publicity that others held similar meetings, and one mayor commissioned a well-known negro sociologist to write the now famous Patterson paper. Patterson located the problem in two characteristics of the White family. One he called "mate-fixation," the preference for living with one spouse, which he thought harmful because children growing up with a single

set of parents could not cope with the diversity of modern life. The other he ascribed to patriarchy, and the mother's resulting inability to serve as a proper model for her daughters. Hung up on their fathers, many girls could not marry, others were driven to adultery with older men, and some even resorted to incest. While these difficulties stemmed initially from the male's position during Puritanism, they were currently exacerbated by suburban renewal, which was forcing White families, though untrained for urban life, to move back to the city.

The report was debated bitterly; the White race leadership arguing that Patterson's portrayal of White family difficulties was insulting, and negro social scientists charging that his findings had been old-hat for a generation. Patterson fought back, upsetting the White leaders by backing their own proposals for government action, and pointing out that city hall was not given to reading sociological texts.

This set off another round of arguments, and nothing has yet been done about the White problem, producing a loud sigh of relief among urban politicians, who are thus spared from taking action that could only lose them votes among the majority population.

Who Controls the Schools?

NEAL GROSS

Studies of power inside the school system have been just as sparse as studies of power structures in society. Such studies would inevitably lead to a consideration of power wielded by bureaucracies and administrators, the school executives. It would not by-pass other traditional power groups within the system—school boards, teachers' colleges, established parent groups—or the insurgent groups—teachers, students, new parent groups, political bodies, the "education industry"—but its primary emphasis would be on those professionals who are in fact empowered to make most of the decisions in the schools. Administrators not only direct the schools and the National Education Association, they greatly influence state school officers and teacher training institutions. Gross's discussion of the School Executive Study, one of the few major studies of the subject, and Wilson's further comments remind us of the complexities of power, the need to study it, and the temptation to oversimplify its structure.

It does not take much reflection to realize that the snappy question "Who controls our schools?" is, in fact, very slippery. A systematic and rigorous examination involves us not in one question but in a host of questions. To borrow a phrase from the anthropologists, we have before us not a nuclear but a gross-familia question, which involves a great number of questions of various types.

There are, for instance, comparative questions: Are there major differences in the basic patterns of formal and informal control over educational systems in different societies? What about the control of the schools in America as opposed to, say, France or Iran? And

are there basic differences in the patterns of formal and informal control of the school systems in different states, in cities of different sizes, in different types of communities? Specifically, what about cities versus suburbs?

There are also general questions on the sources of control and influence: What types of individuals and groups outside the profession attempt to—or do in fact—influence the schools? Do some agencies exert a greater influence than others; for example, businessmen versus politicians, or churches versus politicians? Does the influence of churches and of politicians vary predictably, as by region or by size of city?

Neal Gross, "Who Controls the Schools?" in Seymour E. Harris, ed., *Education and Public Policy* (Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1964).

What control is exerted by key functionaries within the school system? What role does the school board play? Who controls the school board, or

does anyone? To what extent is the superintendent in control? What influence is wielded by the principals and the teachers?

In what ways do professional groups outside the school system—the National Education Association, the U.S. Office of Education and the schools of education, among others—influence what goes on in the schools? And what is the impact of individuals on the national scene, such as James B. Conant, Admiral Hyman G. Rickover and John Fischer? To what extent does their wisdom, their advice and their involvement in key decisions influence the local school system?

Other general questions focus on what is controlled: Who controls the budget? the educational philosophy? the curriculum? the selection of personnel? Who controls what takes place in the classroom?

All these and many other questions must be asked, and they lead to an immensely complex analysis. So we must also ask: Are there any systematic patterns of variability? If so, of what factors are they functions—the organizational structure of the school system, or the system's policy toward involving parents in school affairs, or what?

Our topic, then, involves us in a myriad of questions, each of which has complexities that warrant a full monograph. Little solid information is available, however, and even that little is very hard to uncover. So if monographs were prepared, they would consist largely of common-sense generalizations, based on case studies of relatively few single school systems among the 24,000 in the nation. Every social scientist knows that it is dangerous to generalize and that what passes for common sense is frequently nonsense. Anyone who is foolish enough to agree

to discuss the question "Who controls the schools?" must, therefore, focus on a few elements—and hope for the best.

I propose to talk primarily about one of my own research studies that bears on a few of the questions I have mentioned. Then I shall try to assert some tentative propositions which are suggested by this work.

My data will be drawn from the School Executive Studies' project on power, which focused on the power agents who operate over the decisions of school superintendents. These data were elicited in very intensive, eight-hour interviews with school superintendents, half of them in Massachusetts. The data were not taped until the sixth hour of the interview, when we had achieved good rapport and could talk at bedrock. The data were collected in 1952-53, but I have rechecked some of them in recent years with the superintendents who had not changed jobs, and my impression is that most of what I am saying still holds true.

It is very important, when we talk about power and control, to have a sound conceptual scheme. A lot of nonsense has been written about this subject. In my judgment, Harold D. Lasswell's work is perhaps the most incisive in examining several aspects of the problem of analyzing power systems.

For our inquiry, we required a conceptual scheme that would be both theoretically and empirically useful in helping us to answer the following kinds of questions: To what extent are the school superintendents' important decisions actually affected by power agents? Is there evidence of a single, overriding power system or a multiple power system affecting the decisions by school superintendents? And

does the differential social structure of a community (for example, its political structure or its economic base) result in more or less power phenomenon—or different types of power phenomenon—operating on the school superintendent's work?

We were very anxious to avoid two critical pitfalls. We wished to be on guard against the fallacy of misplaced concreteness, the danger that our techniques would force the emergence of apparent power relationships or a power system when, in reality, there was none. And we wanted to be sure that our conceptual scheme would not simplify the variety and the complexity of the power phenomenon operation. We did not wish to emerge with a misleading single-power system if, in actuality, various power phenomena were affecting the superintendent's decision making.

This led us to emphasize the major, concrete decisions that had been made in the community in regard to the schools during the previous year or two, decisions in which the superintendent was the central figure, and then to attempt to isolate the power phenomena that had influenced him in making those decisions.

Let me present now some case material from which I shall draw certain propositions:

Case 1: This is a fairly wealthy Massachusetts community within fifty miles of Boston. For all decisions regarding major financial expenditures, the superintendent was clearly influenced by a few power agents whose combined influence may be designated a system of social power. These power phenomena were described by the superintendent as a baseball game in which he must participate. The game is played in the following manner:

In making any major financial de-

cision, the superintendent must initially contact the local newspaper publisher. This individual is on the board of directors of all major financial institutions in the community. He can and will apply sanctions to the superintendent unless his views as to the course of action to be taken are followed. In the superintendent's words "If Tom says, 'I don't think you should ask for a \$100,000 increase in the school budget,' I just don't ask for such an increase because I know I can't get it. If Tom says no, that is all there is to it, and I don't proceed any further. [But] if Tom says 'Okay' or 'I think I would ask for a maximum of \$75,000,' then I have cleared first base." He knows then that he can move ahead, at least for the \$75,000.

Tom, in short, is a representative of and the key person in the power structure of the town. His judgment is respected by all the important people. The community will not go ahead on anything unless Tom gives the nod.

"The second baseman is Ed. He is a prominent young lawyer connected with the law firm that represents all the major industries in town. When I see Ed, he says 'What did Tom say?' If I can report that Tom gave me the green light, then Ed will listen to me. If I have to report that Tom said 'No dice,' then Ed says, 'What's the point of talking?'

"Ed usually wants a week or so to think about the matter. If the amount involved is relatively small—say, \$50,000 or so—Ed pretty much makes up his own mind without consulting anyone else, except for a few of his cronies. If it is a relatively large amount, however—that is, over \$50,000—he talks the matter over with the top people in the big firms in town. After all, the tax rate is involved. If Ed then says no, I know I am through. If he says

'Okay,' then and only then are we in business. Ed will handle the shortstop and the third baseman—that is, he will secure the support of the Rotary Club and pass the word on to the town finance committee that the budgetary increase should be passed.

"Only after this process do I bring the matter up to the school committee and, of course, it automatically goes through. If I don't clear with Tom or Ed, I am a dead duck, and so is any budgetary increase."

Here is a clear-cut case of power operating over budgetary decisions. The action of the superintendent is clearly determined by other social actors. Two sanctions are involved: the superintendent will secure no support for his program unless a course of action desired by Tom and Ed is followed, and if the superintendent should attempt to by-pass these men or take the matter to the general public, it is clearly implied that he might have to look elsewhere for a job. However, Tom and Ed are apparently highly respected in the community because of their family backgrounds and their contribution to the community's welfare in terms of time, interest and philanthropy. The superintendent does not perceive their influence or his relationship with them as nefarious. As he puts it, "This is the way the world goes around."

Case 2: This is a town with high socio-economic status, in which all personnel decisions are made by the school board on the basis of the superintendent's recommendation. This man has not had one personnel decision turned down during his five years as superintendent. All curriculum decisions are made by the school board, again on the basis of the superintendent's recommendations. He only has to convince them each time that

the particular curriculum reform "will help our kids get into college."

To prepare the way for any major change which the superintendent wants but which he believes the school board would tend to oppose—for example, a big, new guidance program (a lot of people in this school system are worried about the psychological stuff)—he calls his power agents into action. These happen to be the members of the League of Women Voters. They sell their husbands, and the husbands sell the school board.

There are, by the way, other communities in Massachusetts where the superintendents warn you, "To have the League of Women Voters on your side is the kiss of death. If they are for you, the conservative Republicans will be against you, and they control the town finance committee. So you say to these women, 'For gosh sakes, give me your informal support. But don't shout, or you'll kill what I want.'"

Case 3: This is a religiously split community in which there is great tension between Catholics and Protestants. The population is divided roughly in half. Each group runs its own slate of candidates, and everyone knows it: you vote for the Catholic group, or you vote for the Protestants. Any issue remotely bearing on religion must be worked out, must be negotiated.

Here is a riotous example. It is against the law in Massachusetts, as in most states, to ask about a person's religion when you are considering him for employment. But the members of this six-man board—three Protestants, three Catholics—have run to see that their own people are hired, that nothing is put over on them.

There was an opening for a new principal. The previous time, a Catho-

lic had been brought before the board, and the Protestants had said, "No, this has to be a Protestant." So this time, when the superintendent brought up a Protestant, the Catholics said, "No, this has to be our appointment." For the next nine months there was an acting principal, and nothing happened. Finally a compromise was reached: the principal will be a Catholic, but the coach is going to resign, and his replacement will be a Protestant. It is a deal.

The superintendent, therefore, went to one of the local universities (not Harvard) and searched for a good young man. He could not ask his religion, and so, to take no chances, he picked a Mr. Maloney. Mr. Maloney was appointed. Everything was fine. But three months later, there was an explosion. The town had suddenly discovered that Mr. Maloney was a Protestant!

Some superintendents are major heroes, in my judgment, fighting a real battle for public education. I don't see how they take it.

Case 4: This is a community in which the jobs that the school board controls are political plums. Everything is tied to the political structure of the community, and the politics are rough. The school board members insist upon their quota of appointments, teachers as well as custodians. Every major appointment in the hierarchy of the system must go to one of their boys. They insist on getting their share of contracts—for oil, for new furniture, for cement. This is the community.

The superintendent, during his first year on the job, worked with architects for six months, day and night, trying to design a new, streamlined school, taking out all the extras. He wanted to be able to say to his school board, "Look, I can give you a good school,

and let's use that extra money for teachers' salaries." When the design was ready, he recalled, "I bring this into my school committee, and they laugh. And they say, 'Where is the cement? Where are the trimmings? Where is the graft?'"

These school board members have constituents; they have to take care of their people. And when someone is in trouble, they are going to handle the case. This is another instance, too, in which the Church happens to be involved in the political structure, for major issues are cleared with the Church.

How can the superintendent, a moral man, stay in such a job? "Well," he explains, "it is very uncomfortable, but what would you do? You are fifty-five. You have two kids in college. If you leave, the school board will give you the business. They will blast you in the press. You will never get another job. What would you do?"

In the superintendency business, particularly at certain levels, there is what is called the stigma. The career of school superintendents is largely in the hands of layman school boards, who do the selecting. When a school board wants a superintendent, it has to consult the candidate's previous school board. If he has been in trouble—and people with exciting ideas, new ideas, get in trouble frequently in an area like public education—he has the stigma. He is through. That is why so many school superintendents are, more or less, double talkers. You listen, and you are not sure what they are saying, because they have learned to cover their words with a certain protective coating.

How isolated is this case, in which raw political power operates over the decisions? In a later research study, covering forty-one cities across Amer-

ica, we asked the principals, "To what extent do you feel that your school boards really are dominated by local politicians or free of them?" Over half of the principals responded that there is major political domination in regard to appointments, contracts and other important decisions.

Case 5: This is a big city where, in the words of the superintendent, "The Church is the silent power. Anything that it wants to veto, it can; and when it wants to, it does. My job is to hold the line as best I can." The Church has ideas about its building program, and this intensifies the whole question of double taxation. The superintendent, who is himself a Catholic, must contend with this type of power operating over the system.

Case 6: This community, which is not in Massachusetts, is an illustration of state control. The power of levying school taxes is in the hands of the state legislature. The superintendent can do little because the taxing power is out of his hands. He has to work through the state politicians, and in doing so, he has become quite a politician himself.

From these very elliptical summaries of six concrete cases, I want to draw some tentative propositions about who controls our schools:

First, it seems apparent that the patterns of control of school affairs vary considerably among American communities. They vary, for example, in the extent to which school boards, who have legal responsibility to control the schools, use their formal position in the authority structure. Some school boards know they have the formal authority and use it and do not get especially pressured; they make the basic policies and see that these are carried out. Other school boards are rubber stamps for the superintendent.

Still others are representatives of special-interest groups. And many school boards operate on their own but, in hot issues, yield to local pressures.

Second, the school board member's job frequently has latent as well as manifest functions. As Robert Merton's studies have shown, people who seek membership on a school board do not always have pure motives. One out of every five school-board members in Massachusetts in 1952-53, according to their superintendents, ran for the board primarily because they were interested in political matters, political careers. And one out of five superintendents said (they may be wrong, but these are their words) that their school boards constituted a major obstacle to their carrying out their jobs in a professional manner.

Third, external power agents frequently attempt to influence basic school decisions—especially on budget, personnel and curriculum—and they frequently succeed. In many communities in Massachusetts, the superintendent holds an informal discussion with the town finance committee about the school budget before it is ever formally submitted to the school board. Legally the finance committee has nothing to do with the budget, but without its approval the budget does not go through. Similarly, a number of superintendents review the first draft of the budget with the executive secretary of the taxpayers' association. And if the taxpayers' association says, "We are going to raise holy hell over this item," it goes back to the school board for further reconsideration.

Who are these external power agents? They include economic groups, such as the taxpayers' association and the chamber of commerce. They very often include economically influential individuals. (This is especially true in

small communities. If you own the only factory in town and decide to leave, the community will be in trouble.) They include the local politicians, of course, because the school takes so much of the tax dollar. They frequently include religious groups; and local universities may also be represented in the educational power structure. Pressure may also be felt from groups outside the community, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Superintendents in the big cities are quite concerned about the political pressure such groups can bring to bear.

Fourth, one of the major sources of pressure, particularly in the big cities, is internal. We tend to think of power being exerted from outside, but the teachers are extremely important in the power structure. Our research supports this quite clearly.

Fifth, schools are often exposed to crosscurrents of pressure. Half the superintendents we interviewed, for instance, were getting strong pressure to keep the tax rate down and, at the same time, strong pressure to increase it and improve the school program. These counter-pressures frequently have a positive value, depending on how skillfully the superintendent plays off one against another.

Sixth, There are strategies available to superintendents to cope with these pressures and these influence agents. Some superintendents have a sounding board—for example, the League of Women Voters—and they enlist its support before they press for a major change. Of course, if the superintendent is really good and has a strong reputation, a simple threat to quit may be enough to neutralize the pressure.

Some superintendents, in fact, are the key power agents in their schools, although officially they are only the

executive officers of the board. A shrewd superintendent, that is, can be so persuasive and can so magnetize his board that he becomes, in effect, the decision maker.

The most determining factor in the whole structure, it seems to me, is the school board. The board is crucial in determining the extent to which outside influences control the schools. This in turn means that the community is crucial, because the community elects the school board.

What are some of the variables that may account for the different power systems we find in different communities?

The first is the formal organizational structure itself. One of the major differences between the American and European systems of education is that ours is highly decentralized. It is, I think, unique in the world in the amount of local control it permits. Each school system is locally anchored, so that a citizen can easily reach the superintendent and the school board. At the same time, the other functions of our society are being increasingly administered at the state and Federal level. If a citizen wants to exert his influence directly, one of the few chances he has left is in the schools.

Three other, closely related factors interact within each power system: (1) The quality of the school board. This is largely a matter, in my judgment, of their motivation for wanting to join the board in the first place. (2) The guts of the superintendent. There are superintendents who take a stand early and say, "Look, if you try to pull this, you are going to get blasted in the papers," or who lay out the ground rules early, or who say, "I will quit if—" This takes real moral courage because they have careers at stake and families to support. If the superintendent

ent has this sort of courage, there is a major force dealing with pressure. And (3) the interest of the community. If the community is interested and concerned and wants good schools, it will not tolerate nefarious pressures.

Another factor is the economic structure of the community. A one-industry town is very dependent on the man who runs that one industry. If he is really interested in civic welfare, a lot can be accomplished. But if all he wants is to keep the tax rate down—particularly if he lives elsewhere and simply takes his profit from the industry—then it gets rough. Under the corporate structure, America is getting more and more of this type of outside control.

The political structure is also important. Tell me the nature of the politics of a community, how much graft is going on, how votes are obtained, and I think I can tell you something about the kind of quality of power operating in the schools. The religious structure of the community may, of course, be closely related to this.

Finally, a factor which I think is quite important—and which we too often overlook—is the quality of the state department of education. In New York State, for example, when a school board gets out of hand, the commissioner of education has the right to oust that board, and he exercises that right. A weak state department of education, however, which does not use the power, may allow much nonsense to go on.

These, then, are some speculations and hypotheses about factors that seem to be related to different types of power arrangements. What this list of variables suggests above all is the need for more intensive research.

Now let me make a few summary comments. First, we must be thoroughly aware of the complexity of this

problem. There are many facets and many angles, all of which can be dealt with at many levels, so we must be very careful.

We must understand the local anchoring, the local context, which is the essence of the American educational system. And we must understand the network of interpersonal relationships and social systems in which the schools are embedded. We must see how the schools are tied up with the economic structure of the community, with the tax rate, with the political structure. We must realize that, in many small communities, the schools are the biggest employer in town and have the best contracts to offer. We must take into account that, in certain systems, jobs are given on a pro rata basis: now it is time for a Negro, now it is time for a Catholic, now it is time for a Jew.

We must be very, very sure to understand that pressures are not automatically bad. On the contrary, they can have wholly beneficial effects. In a series of interviews with principals in schools across the country, we asked, among other things, "Do you feel that these pressures are harmful or beneficial to the schools in the long run?" In eighteen out of twenty-one pressure areas—curriculum reform, guidance, and so on—the majority of the principals said, "These pressures are basically beneficial." They even saw some value in selfish pressures notably to put students in particular classes, because these at least show parental interest.

Finally, it is my judgment—and I could be quite wrong—that there are two key areas of pressure: finances, especially control of the budget, and personnel. The individuals who control these areas can control, for the most part, what goes on in the schools. Here, above all, is where we must pro-

tect the schools from nefarious influences.

The control is ultimately, of course, in the hands of the people. If they really want it, they can have it any time, since it is they, after all, who elect the school boards.

Comment by James Q. Wilson

These few comments are not criticisms or evaluations of what Mr. Gross had to say. They are, rather, a couple of items which deserve to be added to his initial list of complexities. That was certainly comprehensive enough, but I want to make it even more comprehensive and perhaps even more complicated.

I have had practically no experience in studying the power structures of schools. My concern is with the study of urban institutions generally. But I have been concerned with the problems of studying power, and since this is directly to this point, let me make two observations.

First of all, in a study of this kind, as in a study of almost any other kind of local institutions, the essential problem is to define and compare power. This is relatively easy to do—at least, it is relatively easy to arrive at moral certainties, although perhaps not statistical certainties—when you are dealing with a relatively homogeneous community, perhaps one such as Mr. Gross described in which the baseball game takes place. There are only one or two key actors, and the presence or absence of their veto is unambiguously determinable, at least for the superintendent and whomever he chooses to confide in. But when the city is any larger or any more complicated, a variety of power agents are operating (to use Mr. Gross's terminology), and the question becomes: how do you assess the relative power of each?

Robert Dahl, professor of political science at Yale, wrote a book called *Who Governs?* in which he addressed himself in a sophisticated and elegant fashion to this very problem. He tried to describe the politics of New Haven, Connecticut, including the schools, and his conclusion was that no one can explain who governs. He provides several hundred pages worth of well-documented reasons and speculation as to why the question cannot be answered for a city of any given size.

The difficulty of assessing power is that one must take into account, not only the ends sought by the various actors, but also the costs which they attach to the efforts required to attain those ends. For power is limited, and each use of power entails the expenditure of one opportunity to use it. Moreover, power is used to achieve a variety of ends through a variety of persons, who are susceptible to power in varying degrees. Thus the question of comparing power agents, of deciding who is most strongly influencing the schools' finances or curriculum or teacher hiring, becomes extremely difficult in a heterogeneous city. Even though the individual actor—say, the school superintendent—may have a very clear mental map of the power distribution, it is very difficult to reduce that map to writing in such a way that it will be intelligible to people who do not have direct access to the superintendent's mind.

The second problem is more fundamental: power for what? What difference does it make whether the community is run by a baseball game consisting of a newspaper publisher and a key lawyer, or by the omnipotent ladies of the League, or by a small group of monsignori and archbishops, or by a patronage-fed political machine, or by individual politicians with personal and selfish aspirations?

It seems to me that, regardless of the combination of these factors, the matter ought not to be prejudged. This holds true even when the urban politics are corrupt. There are certain cities—Boston is an excellent example—in which a good deal of individualistic bargaining occurs in the corrupt political marketplace, characterized by a concern for one's own interests and a good deal of freedom in the choice of means to realize those interests, and this seems to have a profound effect on the character of public education, although we have yet to explore this in great detail. Yet in another city—say, Chicago—where the total value of corrupt exchanges is about the same, corruption may be differently organized, and education may not suffer at all. Indeed, education may be protected because if the man who heads the essentially corrupt political machine is correctly motivated—and it is an open question whether he will be or not—he may be able to take the heat off the school board. When pressures are applied, he can act as intermediary; and depending on his motivation, he can either back up his personal choices or insist that the choices be made a nonpolitical matter. There is no way a priori to determine which way he will act. There have been politicians in Chicago who have intervened seriously in the operations of the Chicago schools, and there have been politicians in Chicago who have not.

The same can be said for economic bosses in a one-industry or multi-

industry town. Are they enlightened or unenlightened? Or, to put the question in more rigorous terms, to what ends are they acting, and do they consider education relevant to their ends? These questions must be asked about every power agent, including the League of Women Voters, the NAACP and the school board itself.

I agree with Mr. Gross that the quality of the school board is extremely important in determining the quality of education. But the quality of the school board cannot be inferred from the motives of the members. A school board could, at least logically, consist of persons whose motives are entirely personalistic—who are on the board to advance their careers, or to get ahead in political office, or simply to become well-known in the community, or to be able to rub elbows with the social elite or the newspaper publisher or the key lawyers in the community—and yet who serve those personalistic ends by actions which are objectively healthy for the schools and the community. Of course, selfish motives may also lead to actions which are deeply detrimental to the school system; but we cannot automatically assume this. We must ask the question anew, empirically, in every case.

Let me stress again that I know Mr. Gross is deeply aware of these questions. I am citing them only to introduce further complications into the minds of those who might once have felt that the study of who runs our schools is a simple matter.

Professionalism

DAVID SELDEN

Unfortunately, space does not allow us to deal with each separate part of the new and the old educational establishments. Only four groups are included here: administrators, teachers' organizations, student organizations, and teacher trainers. Within the educational "profession," a new group has recently arisen to challenge the power of the National Education Association (still the powerhouse of education) and the school administrators who dominate the NEA and most other educational groups. That insurgent group is the American Federation of Teachers, a trade union affiliate of the AFL-CIO. Like other trade unions and insurgent groups that become permanent organizations, the AFT can be expected to work out a less violent and more symbiotic relation with its current adversaries than it has had. The clear effect of the AFT has been to bring teachers into the center of the educational power structure for the first time.

Responding to the AFT's challenge, classroom sections of the NEA have accepted the principle of collective bargaining and aggressively entered competition for the right to represent teachers in bargaining. NEA affiliates have even called teacher strikes. Whether under AFT or NEA leadership—or a merger of the two—widespread unionization seems likely for American teachers. AFT contracts have already been negotiated for teachers in many major cities, starting with New York, and the NEA has negotiated contracts in numbers of small communities. Such independent action on the part of teachers is likely to have a profound effect on the course of American education.

For the first 35 years of its life as a union, the American Federation of Teachers was almost constantly on the defensive. The AFT no sooner received its charter from the American Federation of Labor in 1916 than the National Education Association, which was composed mostly of superintendents, principals, and college professors, launched an active campaign to enroll teachers. The NEA remained firmly

in the hands of the management group, but it was able, through administrative pressure and bandwagon ballyhoo, to tax teachers at the same time that it forestalled their acceptance of teacher unionism.

Although the AFT developed pockets of strength here and there during the next four decades, these union strongholds were constantly under attack by the anti-union forces. It was not until the startling breakthrough of the teacher union forces in New York

David Selden, "Professionalism," *The Federationist*, anniversary issue, 1966, pp. 2-3.

City in 1961 that the AFT can be said to have gained the initiative.

Throughout the long struggle with the NEA and its satellite associations the AFL has continually had to wage a fight against what can only be termed "the professionalism mystique." The fight has been against the mystique, of course, not professionalism, for union teachers have shown that teacher unionism is not only compatible with true professionalism; it is essential to it.

Development of the Mystique

As one can learn from reading Cremin's great book, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Knopf, 1961), Thorndyke, Gates, Parker, Dewey, and the other great educational pioneers were more concerned with discovering and developing basic truths about learning than they were interested in elevating the status of those who were working in the educational vineyard. The beatification of teachers, or "educators," seems to have been an organizational project from the start.

Starting from the basic idea that doctors and lawyers make a lot of money and have high status in society and are given the accolade "professional," it was conceived that if teachers could somehow pass as professionals they also could make a lot of money and hold a high status in society. An appealing idea; one which most teachers would want to accept; hence, a fine platform for a teacher organization.

And so, even though there were as many definitions of professionalism as there were speakers at educational conferences, "professionalism" became the Holy Grail in education: Everyone wanted it—but no one quite knew what it was. As defined by the educa-

tional establishment, however, professionalism was translated as: "Loyalty: *dedication* to doing a good job and not being a nuisance to your principal and superintendent, and paying your dues to your non-union association; never letting parents or the public know what is wrong with the schools; making do with whatever the vagaries of budget and school board allot you."

Mystique vs. Reality

The professionalism mystique was accepted and promoted by almost everyone who made education a career.

The organizational bureaucrats promoted it because it justified their existence.

Teachers believed it because it offered them status in the middle class world.

Superintendents and other educational managers supported the mystique because it reinforced their positions in the educational enterprise.

Professors in teacher training institutions liked the concept because they viewed themselves as the high priests of professionalism.

But all the time children were being born; the social fabric of cities and perhaps other areas was being strained and ripped and the schools were becoming submerged in an ever deepening tide of red tape and chalk dust.

And then the mystique of professionalism in education came eyeball to eyeball with the facts of later Twentieth Century life. Professionalism, as it had been advocated, was no solution for lagging salaries and fringe benefits, frustrating working conditions, and the encroaching feeling of futility which were the realities of the teacher condition.

Particularly in the great cities, the mystique of professionalism could no longer be sustained. Protest, too, was

not enough. A revolution was called for—and the American Federation of Teachers at last got a chance to show what it could do.

A New Professionalism

In the new centers of AFT power—New York City, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Boston, Hartford and a rapidly growing number of smaller districts—teachers have shown little interest in the outmoded professionalism mystique. They want a say in what is done or attempted in the schools and they want to be adequately compensated for their efforts, call it what you may. Through the technique of collective bargaining they are defining a new meaning for professionalism—one which has far more relevance to reality than the old professionalism mystique ever had.

Teachers are not like most doctors, lawyers, dentists, veterinarians or other fee-taking, self-employed "professionals." Teachers work in groups for single employers. Their salaries, fringe benefits and working conditions are set on a group basis. Yet the thing which distinguishes a professional from other workers is the fact that he is required to exercise his expert judgment in the performance of his work. Thus many of the professional judgments of a teacher must be collective decisions. Even the extent of the zone of individual professional judgment reserved to a teacher must be defined by the group. It is apparent, then, that collective bargaining fits in with true teacher professionalism as naturally as a handclasp.

In the campaign to establish collective bargaining rights for New York City, the professionalism issue got short shrift. When the NEA spokesmen raised the issue, the rejoinder of the UFT was, "There is nothing so

unprofessional as working for less than professional salaries under less than professional working standards."

First things first!

The Anatomy of Professionalism

But, what is a professional salary? What are professional working conditions?

In negotiations with school boards under the new collective bargaining relationships, AFT locals rarely, if ever, have justified their demands on the grounds that they simply are good for the teachers. Neither has the AFT taken the position that "what is good for teachers is good for the children."

In salary matters the union has pointed out that a shortage of highly qualified teachers works a hardship on pupils—and, for that matter, since the shortage invariably is more acute in the less desirable teaching positions, and since these positions are apt to be in the slum and ghetto areas, the board of education shortchanges the very children who need the best in education when it fails to make teaching attractive enough to eliminate the shortage.

Thus a professional salary is one which is high enough to attract enough highly qualified teachers to fill all teaching positions. Since fringe benefits—pensions, leaves, welfare benefits, etc.—are a part of the material compensation a teacher receives, the same rule applies to these demands too.

Working conditions are also a consideration when a teacher makes his choice of teaching position, but even more important, working conditions for the teacher are usually learning conditions for the pupil. Thus professional working conditions are those which enable a well-qualified teacher to do his best job of teaching.

The justification for the union demand for smaller classes rests on the fact that a smaller class permits the teacher to teach. It does not rest on the ancillary possibility that a smaller class may be easier to handle, although it is a fact that teachable classes make teaching in a school system more attractive, thus improving its position in the teacher recruitment marketplace.

The 20-period classroom week is coming to be a union demand in some districts. Again, the important thing is not that teachers should have more time off, even though a refreshed and energetic teacher can do a better job than one who is harried and tired. A 20-period classroom week gives a teacher school time to do all those things which go with really professional performance; things which cannot be done in the present one or two unassigned periods a day.

Professional salaries and fringe benefits, teachable classes, time to teach, freedom from enervating and annoying non-professional duties, adequate guidance, remedial and other supportive services; these are the framework of the new anatomy of professionalism.

Professionalism and Militancy

The AFT has recognized that teachers are in a fight, a fight for their professional lives, a fight for a better school system, and a fight to make sure that the schools make their proper contribution to social progress. When you are in a fight you use the best weapons at your command. Very often the best weapon is to stop work: strike.

The traditional associations have been hobbled by the undue influence of the superintendents, principals, and other management representatives who

are included in their memberships. Even where a local association excludes administrators and sets out on a militant course it is apt to get a "cool it, baby" when it appeals to the state association or the NEA for support. This is what happened in Utah, Kentucky, and Oklahoma, and it was not until the superintendents and principals in those states gave the green light that militant action of a sort was taken. Management never likes things to get out of (its) control.

Writing for the *Saturday Review*, May 15, 1965, I put it this way:

It is time teachers were released from their conformist bondage. Anyone who really worries about education ought to kick, prod, cajole, wheedle, and exhort teachers to far greater militancy. When teachers are willing to stop work rather than continue under substandard conditions, they will have gone a long way toward attaining the professional status to which they have given lip service for so many years.

Yet the new union professional teachers have not been "strike happy." Even in New York City there has only been one day of shutdown in more than five years of collective bargaining. There have been none at all in Philadelphia, Boston, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Hartford, and most other AFT-represented school districts.

Pilgrim's Progress

The AFT is rapidly developing a new model of the professional teacher organization. Thus far teacher unions have been on the high road—but there are obstacles and pitfalls to be avoided. The most dangerous of these might be labeled, in Bunyanesque style, "Valley of Negativism."

The AFT heritage of protest and counterattack against the onslaughts of superintendents, school boards, and

associations has tended to give the AFT a defensive set. Two-thirds, at least, of the collective bargaining contract clauses other than those conferring added salaries and fringe benefits are designed to stop management from doing something.

Union teachers will have to learn to accentuate the positive. Although less than 2% of New York City teachers are directly involved in the More Effective Schools Program, the MES plan has attracted coast-to-coast interest because it offers a solution to a widespread problem. A truly profes-

sional union of teachers must do more and more of this sort of positive thinking and development.

A regular feature of AFT bargaining should be a demand for a jointly administered union-board fund for educational research and development. Perhaps a portion of union dues should be set aside for this purpose, too.

The future of the AFT looks bright. As we grow in strength we gain more influence within the labor movement. Joining with like-minded organizations, our strength is doubled and redoubled. The rest depends on us.

University Students and Politics in Underdeveloped Countries

SEYMOUR LIPSET

Students in developing areas became a matter of significance in mid-century for two reasons, namely the increasing importance and restlessness of (1) students, and (2) the developing areas. In education as in many other things, the most serious challenges to American society, perhaps next to its own economic and military capability, have come to be international in scope. Industrial societies continued to spurt ahead and the developing areas to lag and remain essentially undeveloped. New plans for educational and social-economic development were required to replace old blueprints that were designed for different times and places and that no longer seemed to fit. Both in the new nations and in industrial societies, leadership for future development is generated in higher education—among the elite of college-trained students. In the US and around the world, the direct consumers of education, students, began to forge a new and leading role for themselves in the affairs of school and society.

The University in Underdeveloped Countries

The tasks of the universities in the underdeveloped countries of the world

Seymour Martin Lipset, "University Students and Politics in Underdeveloped Countries," *Minerva*, III, No. 1 (Autumn, 1964), 15-56.

are fundamentally not very different from what they are in more highly developed societies. They must transmit in a more differentiated and more specific way the cultural heritage—the history, the scientific knowledge, the literature—of their society and of the world culture of which their society is

a part; they must train persons who will become members of the elites of their societies to exercise skills in science, technology, management and administration; they must cultivate the capacity for leadership and a sense of responsibility to their fellow countrymen and they must train them to be constructively critical, to be able to initiate changes while appreciating what they have inherited. The universities must contribute new knowledge to the world's pool of knowledge and must stimulate in some of the students, at least, the desire to become original contributors to this pool, as well as equipping them with the knowledge and discipline which, given adequate endowment, will enable them to do so. Regardless of whether the university system seeks to educate only a very small fraction of the stratum of university age or a quite large proportion, these tasks remain the indispensable minimum. A university system which fails to perform these functions, however useful it might be in other respects, is not doing its job. It will become parasitic on the university systems of other countries and will be unable to cope with the tasks of national development.

In the underdeveloped countries, the role of the universities is especially important because the elites of the modern sector of the society are drawn very largely from the reservoir of persons with university training. There is no class of indigenous business enterprisers who, without university training, have taken or are likely to be allowed to take the main responsibility for economic development—as they did in Europe and America in the nineteenth century. There is no class of highly skilled artisans from whom significant technological innovations will come forth. There is very little research in most new states, apart from the little that is done in universities—

although the balance is now beginning to change in favour of non-university research establishments. Much of the intellectual journalism, *e.g.*, analytical commentary on public policy, emanates from the universities. Thus the universities alone must not only produce much of the elite which must modernise the society, but they are also almost solely responsible for the conduct of intellectual life in general in their own countries. A substantial proportion of the political elite, too, is bound to emerge from the ranks of university graduates, even in a time of populist politics.

The universities of the underdeveloped countries bear the burden of being, in an age of nationalism, institutions part of whose task it is to propagate a universal culture and to contribute to its growth, while simultaneously cultivating and developing the indigenous, actual or potential national culture and enhancing national life. The task of interpreting the indigenous cultural inheritance through linguistics, anthropology, sociology, historiography, literary history and criticism, must also be conducted according to standards and procedures of universal validity. Not only do the substance and procedure of university study partake of universality, but they are from the beginning of the modern age, and still at present, derived from the accomplishments of academics and amateurs of the Western, Central and Northern European culture area, including the North American, the very areas of the world against which the twentieth-century nationalism of Asia, Africa and Latin America is asserting itself. The situation is not made easier politically and pedagogically by the fact that in Africa and in major areas of Asia, university teaching and scientific writing are still conducted in the languages of the former colonial powers. Even where this is

not so, a university to perform its functions well must still, and will for some time to come, depend on books and periodicals written and printed in the metropolitan countries. Moreover, the universities of the underdeveloped countries must still share the performance of their tasks with the metropolitan universities, which for much of the world carry the major responsibility for advanced training in science and scholarship.¹

Under these circumstances, the universities are bound to be subject to pressure from their politically sensitive fellow countrymen and from the opinion of their academic colleagues overseas. They will also be under pressure from their own student bodies, who at the most sensitive and reactive stage of life are being subjected to a discipline which is alien to their own indigenous social and cultural traditions and

on which, assessed by "alien standards," their future will largely depend. Universities to be successful must form a community which embraces students as well as teachers and research workers. Universities must develop a culture of their own. This culture must go beyond the bodies of specific knowledge which are taught and cultivated and extend to a vague ethos of attitudes and sensibilities, of standards and canons of judgement which must be assimilated and cannot be explicitly taught.²

It is difficult enough to infuse such a culture into a new generation even in societies where the culture of the university is more or less integral to the indigenous culture. It is even more so in underdeveloped countries, where it is still in greater or lesser measure an alien culture, alien to the background from which the students come.

The central tasks of the university cannot be performed without the assimilation of the student body into the university community, which is a graded community, inevitably hierarchical by virtue of differences in age and competence. This task is not an easy one, but on its effective performance depends the success of the university in the performance of its essential functions.

University students are not, however, merely prospective members of the elites of their countries. Particularly in the underdeveloped countries, university students do not just prepare themselves for future roles in public

¹ Systematic inquiry into the problems of overseas studies has scarcely begun. Some pioneer works are Amar Kumar Singh, *Indian Students in Britain* (London and Bombay: Asia Publishing Co., 1963); and Prodosh, Aich, *Farbige unter Weissen* (Berlin and Cologne: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1962). Cf. also: J. M. Meijer, *Knowledge and Revolution: The Russian Colony in Zurich (1870-1873)*, *A Contribution to the Study of Russian Populism* (Assen: Van Gorcum and Comp., 1955); Claire Sellitz, et al., *Attitudes and Social Relations of Foreign Students in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963); Ralph Beals, and Norman Humphrey, *No Frontier to Learning: The Mexican Student in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957); John W. Bennett, et al., *In Search of Identity: The Japanese Overseas Scholar in America and Japan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958); Richard D. Lambert, and Marvin Bressler, *Indian Students on an American Campus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956); (Richard Morris, *The Two-Way Mirror: National Status in Foreign Students' Adjustment* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960); John Useem, and Ruth Hill Useem, *The Western Educated Man in India* (New York: Dryden Press, 1955).

² Michael Polanyi has best described the nature of this community, particularly the mode by which "tacit knowledge" is communicated. Cf. *Personal Knowledge* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958); *Science, Faith and Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946; reprinted Chicago University Press, 1964); and "The Republic of Science: Its Political and Economic Theory," *Minerva*, I, No. 1 (Autumn, 1962), 54-73.

life; they play a significant part in the political life of their countries even during their student period. The intensity of the university students' political activity is in some sense a measure of the failure of the university as an academic community. This is not necessarily and always so, but it does seem to be so in the underdeveloped countries where universities operate under severe handicaps of unfavorable traditions and a paucity of resources, human and financial, and where student politics are frequently associated with the rejection of the intellectual leadership of the faculty of the universities.

Quite apart from influence of the life of the university itself on the students' disposition towards politics, the position of the students in an underdeveloped society is itself conducive to political preoccupations. For one thing, the modern educated classes of the former colonial countries of Asia and Africa were the creators of the political life of their countries. University students and, where there were no universities, secondary school students, played important roles as adjuncts to the movements for independence. Students at overseas universities became nationalists in the course of their sojourn in a foreign country and they organised political bodies which, at least in the case of the African countries, were the first steps towards independence. Since so much of the political life of the colonial period, which permitted, except in its last period, little constitutional and responsible political activity, strikes, demonstrations and agitation were major forms of political activity. Students were ideally suited, by the disposition of adolescence in situations of relatively safe rebellion against authority, for such activities. The political tradition then engendered has persisted into independence.

Their self-consciousness as a distinctive group with high status and with relative immunity from severe repression has also continued into independence. In societies where learning has been associated with religion and earthly authority, students, as aspirants to that learning, have enjoyed great respect. University students, too, are quite often the offspring of families of some eminence in their respective countries. Their status as kinsmen of the incumbent elites, and as prospective members of the elite themselves, affords them a special position among oppositional groups. They tend to be confident that the harsh suppression to which other opposition groups are subject will not fall to their lot. This, too, encourages their entry into the political sphere.

It should also be pointed out that public opinion in underdeveloped countries is not constituted by the views of a large and educated middle class of professional and business men and women. Because of the small size of the educated middle class, students in certain underdeveloped countries make up a disproportionately large section of the bearers of public opinion; their various affinities of education, class and kinship with the actual elites give them an audience which students in more developed countries can seldom attain.

Finally, university students in underdeveloped countries are the heirs of a European tradition of student politics. In Germany and Russia, student politics gave much animation to the movement for national renewal and progress in the nineteenth century. In France, too, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, university students have been significantly drawn towards revolutionary, agitational and demonstrative politics. The traditions of European liberalism, rationalism and na-

tionalism found their main recipients in underdeveloped countries, within the ranks of the educated classes. All these movements have left behind a precipitate which has entered into the nationalist and oppositional politics of the underdeveloped countries, both those which have recently been colonial and those long independent.

Endemic to all progressive societies has been a tension between the intellectuals, religious and secular, who seek to transmit and affirm traditional views and those engaged in research and artistic creativity whose roles require them to criticise, revise and supplant tradition. The latter value new discoveries and innovation, not the reproduction, copying or transmission of old discoveries and ideas. Originally, departure from what is established and officially accepted, is a central value in the outlook of the modern intellectual. More generally, in the tradition of the intellectual classes of Western society, there are important currents of long duration and great intellectual value which set the intellectuals against established authority.³ These include scientism, romanticism, revolutionary apocalypticism and populism. These traditions largely form the characteristic outlook of the intellectuals outside universities. Universities have been institutions established by or supported by the authoritative centre of society—political and ecclesiastical—and they have been more integrated into the tasks of training young persons for careers connected with the central functions of society and culture. But they, too, by their stress on scientific discipline and detachment from the idols of the market-place, have nurtured a critical attitude. Especially in the social sciences has there been a tension be-

tween the affirmation of the dominant systems of practices and beliefs and a critical attitude towards those systems.

It is this anti-traditional outlook of modern Western intellectual life which has found reception among the intellectuals of the underdeveloped countries and it provides the point of departure of the youngest generation of intellectuals in those countries.

A not unimportant factor which has encouraged the presence of critical, antitraditional opinions and groups on campuses is the tradition of corporate autonomy of the university, which became established on the European continent in the Middle Ages. The norm has become strong enough in recent years in the United States, and for a longer time in Great Britain and France, to protect the freedom of social scientists and others to present views in writing and in the lecture halls, which are antithetical to the economic, political and religious views of those who govern the university or the society. In Czarist Russia, university autonomy operated at times to allow the adult sections of illegal revolutionary groups to hold meetings in university precincts, without interference by the police. In Venezuela, in recent years, terrorists have exploited this tradition of university autonomy by using the university precincts as a sanctuary from the police. Seemingly, the recognition that a university must have freedom if it is to carry out its function as a source of innovation, has been more powerful in many countries than the threat such freedom might pose to the political and economic self-interest of the dominant elites.

The way in which such norms arise has been described in the case of Meiji Japan, whose late nineteenth century leaders imitated Humboldt and the Prussian educational reformers in consciously recognising the need to differ-

³ Cf. Edward Shils, "The Intellectuals and the Powers," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, No. 1 (1958), pp. 15-21.

entiate between the "indoctrination" function of primary education and the "creative" role of the universities in fostering research and training leaders. The initial educational ordinances drawn up by the Minister of Education, Arinori Mori, in the 1880s were explicitly concerned with such distinctions. He "believed that primary education, by being based on the doctrines of Japanese nationalism and militarism, would help teach the people to be loyal to the state while they were still in the formative period of their lives. But he also believed that if education were limited to the primary level, leaders could not be produced with sufficient grasp of science and technology to contribute to the prosperity of the nation. He was therefore convinced that, in both research and instruction, universities and professional schools should assume the task of preparing such leaders and that *sufficient and appropriate freedom should be allowed for this purpose*. . . ."⁴

It is, therefore, not surprising that university students, when they develop political concerns, should be more radical than the classes from which they come even in the underdeveloped nations. In the United States, where, until recently, university students have not played a notable part in public or political affairs, they are much more prone to favor the Democratic Party and to support liberal and even socialist measures than is the middle class in general. Likewise, in Britain and most European countries, the leftist parties

are considerably stronger among university students than they are in the rest of the middle class.⁵

Students and Politics in Communist Countries

The situation in the various communist countries, of course, has been quite different, particularly in Stalin's time. Public oppositional politics have rarely been possible. It is noteworthy, however, that students and intellectuals have played a major role in the movements to liberalise the totalitarian regimes. This was especially true in Poland and Hungary in 1956. In Poland the chief critical magazine was a student journal, *Po Prostu* (Plain Talk), which served as the main rallying point for the liberal elements as long as it was allowed to exist.⁶ In Hungary, also, the university student body was a major force in the groups leading the up-

⁵ Unpublished data from an American study of student attitudes in several colleges and universities in different parts of the United States reveal that students by and large are more likely to prefer the Democratic Party, and for this preference to increase from their first year in university onward. (Study of Selected Institutions, Center for the Study of Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley.) Many studies reveal the effect of education, especially at the university level, in reducing prejudice and increasing liberal and tolerant attitudes. See, for example, Charles Herbert Stember, *Education and Attitude Change* (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1961); and Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1955), pp. 89-108.

⁶ See Flora Lewis, *The Polish Volcano* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1959), pp. 67-69, 134-135. *Po Prostu* was shut down in October 1957, one year after the demonstrations which had opened the way to liberalisation. Students rioted for four days in vain protest; pp. 255-256. See also William R. McIntyre, "Students' Movements," *Editorial Research Reports*, II, No. 23 (December 11, 1957), 915-16.

⁴ Michio Nagai, "The Development of Intellectuals in the Meiji and Taisho Periods," *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan*, II, No. 1 (April, 1964), 29. Although Mori favored freedom within the Imperial University of Tokyo, "he was convinced that what was taught in Tokyo University should not be conveyed to the masses since too much free thought among the masses might pose a threat to the regime."

rising.⁷ In the Soviet Union, intellectuals, particularly young ones, including students, have played a major role in demands for reform, insisting on more freedom and more intellectual integrity. A former student of Moscow University now living abroad reports that while "it is difficult to give exact figures, . . . my estimate of the proportion of Soviet students whose political discontent was revealed during the thaw of 1956 would be from one-fourth to one-third of the total. With the exception of the professional activists, the remaining played the familiar role of 'the masses': their attitude toward the political avant-garde was sometimes sympathetic, sometimes uncomprehending, but rarely hostile."⁸ During 1956-57, following the 20th Party Congress, there were open attacks on the leadership of the Young Communist League, with demands for more freedom and democracy: "Illegal and semilegal student journals with such characteristic titles as *Heresy* and *Fresh Voices* began to appear; they discussed art and ideology, ridiculed socialist realism, and attacked the local Komsomol leaders. Wall newspapers began to print 'undesirable articles. . . .' Finally during the Hungarian uprising an account of the events, as gathered from a British Broadcasting Company [sic] broadcast, was posted on a bulletin board in the University of Moscow. . . ."⁹

In Communist China, the year 1957 witnessed the "Hundred Flowers" campaign, in which criticism was openly encouraged by Mao Tse-tung and other party leaders. The results startled the regime, since for five weeks it was exposed to a barrage of sharp attacks by older intellectuals and students. As one Frenchman present in China during this period reported: "What really shook the party was a feeling that it faced the loss of its control over the youth. Young people brought up under communist rule had become the loudest in denouncing the party which had vested its hopes in them."¹⁰

Some indication of the nature of the criticism may be found in the pamphlet, *Look! What Kind of Talk Is This?* published by a party organization, the Peking Student Union, on 14 June, 1957, as a collection of critical attitudes to be dealt with in indoctrination sessions. The statements so presented "are not anti-socialist; they are anti-party, anti-Kuomintang, anti-imperialist, anti-Stalin, pro-Tito."¹¹

There is, of course, no reliable way of estimating the extent of critical sentiments and behavior among university students in communist (or even other, more accessible) countries from evidence concerning protests which have become known. While such sentiments and actions are extremely important, it may be that most of the students passively support the *status quo*.

⁷ The first demonstrations in Hungary in 1956 were those of the university students. Student organizations were also the first groups formed breaking openly with Communist Party control. See Paul Kecskemeti, *The Unexpected Revolution: Social Forces in the Hungarian Uprising* (Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 79-82, 106-109.

⁸ David Burg, "Observations on Soviet University Students," *Daedalus*, LXXXIX, No. 3 (Summer, 1960), 530.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 530-531; see also Walter Z. Laqueur, and George Lichtheim, *The Soviet Cultural Scene 1956-1957* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958), pp. 215-220.

¹⁰ René Goldman, "The Rectification Campaign at Peking University: May-June 1957," *The China Quarterly* (October-December, 1962), No. 12, p. 139. For a report by a participant, see Tang Chu-kuo, *The Student Anti-Communist Movement in Peiping* (Taipei: Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, 1960).

¹¹ Dennis Doolin, ed., *Communist China: The Politics of Student Opposition* (Stanford: The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, 1964), p. 14. This publication contains a verbatim translation of the pamphlet published by the Peking Student Union.

Survey data based on samples of total student populations gathered in Warsaw in 1958 and 1961, and in Zagreb in 1961, do not, however, support this hypothesis. The Polish data clearly indicate that the bulk of the students were socialist, anti-Marxist, favorable to freedom and civil liberties, and egalitarian (as indicated by support for a narrow range in the distribution of income), and that 45 per cent. had played an active role in the anti-Stalinist demonstrations of October 1956. Less than one-quarter (24 per cent.) approved of the activities of the communist youth organisation, and 72 per cent. voiced dissatisfaction with them. Sixty-eight per cent. favored some sort of socialism, but only 13 per cent. identified themselves as Marxists and 68 per cent. indicated clear opposition to Marxism. A survey of Yugoslav students at the University of Zagreb suggests greater support for the official ideology. Over half (53 per cent.) stated that they accepted Marxism fully, while another 19 per cent. indicated partial acceptance. On the other hand, when asked their opinion of the leaders of the official League of Students, less than half (43 per cent.) approved of them, while 53 per cent. would have preferred other leaders. And 26 per cent. of the respondents indicated that they sometimes thought they would be "more satisfied" if they could live abroad.¹²

The history of student politics in the countries of Eastern Europe and China still arouses old memories and calls forth corresponding responses from the present rulers of these countries. The efforts of students and intellectuals were of notable importance in undermining pre-communist re-

gimes in these countries and current efforts at their suppression may be consciously related to an awareness of that history. In his classic study of Czarist Russia, set consciously in a Tocquevillian framework, Leroy-Beaulieu noted: "The schools . . . have always been the hotbeds of radicalism and the higher the school, the more imbued with the revolutionary spirit the young people who graduate therefrom. . . . Science and education, no matter how watchful the supervision they are subjected to—by the wants which they create, by the confidence in right and reason which they inspire, by the curiosity they arouse and the comparisons they suggest—invincibly predispose to criticism, to free investigation, hence to liberalism, to the spirit of innovation."¹³

The university students in particular were among the few to engage in demonstrations demanding freedom and major economic reforms from the mid-nineteenth century on. Many of these early protests began as struggles for greater rights for students within the

¹³ Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, Part II: "The Institutions" (New York: C. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894), pp. 486-487. He documents these contentions with reference to statistical data on the background of those revolutionists who had been arrested, which showed that four-fifths had received higher or secondary education, most of them in government schools, and that a "statistical list of 1880 shows four-fifths of the agitators arrested by the police to have been nobles, sons of priests, of functionaries and officers, of merchants or city 'notables,' only 20 per cent were small employees, working people, and peasants." See his footnotes on pp. 485 and 486. Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (London: J. M. Dent, 1955) is one of the classic treatments, perhaps the greatest, of Russian student politics under the *ancien régime*. Alexander Herzen in his *My Past and Thoughts* (translated by Constance Garnett), presents a beautiful account of the political sensitivity of the Russian university students of the 1830s. Vol. I (London: Chatto and Windus, 1924).

¹² Study conducted by Professor V. Serdar, preliminary results of which were published in Mirko Martić, "Student i Zagrebackog sveučilišta u svijetlu jednog anketnog istraživanja," *Nase Teme* (Zagreb), (1961), No. 2.

universities and then widened their objectives as they met with repression. A report by a faculty commission of the University of Moscow, written in 1901, traced the causes and nature of every student disorder back to the 1850s. It "noted that since 1887 they had become almost annual. . . . This upward trend of student disorders was confirmed by statistics on expulsions from the university, which had doubled in the six years from 1894 to 1899, as compared to the preceding seven years. During the later period, a total of 1,214 students were expelled from the University of Moscow.

. . ."¹⁴ Student strikes and demonstrations became even more prevalent after 1899, reaching a climax in 1905, when the universities were closed by the government. "In 1901, the workers were to learn the value of the street demonstrations from students. These demonstrations, first organized by the university students of St. Petersburg . . . spread rapidly to other universities and were promptly joined by sympathetic workers and other elements of the urban population."¹⁵ The freedom which was won by the students for themselves, in the form of autonomy given to the universities in 1905, helped facilitate revolutionary disturbances. "The student movement was being led by a group of extreme radicals, mostly Social Democrats and some Socialist Revolutionaries and others. . . . Overriding the liberal professors who sought a return to normal academic life, the students opened the doors of the universities to mass meet-

ings of the workers. Since the police could not enter the universities except at the request of the university council, these meetings were held in complete freedom. Here, in closed quarters, revolutionary speeches were made and strikes organized; here the revolutionary parties made their plans without interference."¹⁶

Sixty years ago, Bernard Pares included students, with the intelligentsia, as the carriers of the revolutionary outlook in Czarist Russia. His analysis emphasised some of the determinants that have been pointed to in recent analyses of the politics of university students in underdeveloped countries: "The universities, long the fortress of criticism, had united within their walls a number of young men who were never again in all their lives to meet so many of their fellows under the inspiration of a common ideal. Here they were still young in heart and brain, and as yet unhampered by the practical concerns of life. They did not represent any ruling class; naturally, their interests were quite as much social as political; and students or ex-students, especially those who crossed the frontier, might be expected to carry on a scheme of social propaganda as wholehearted and as all-embracing as any other of the enthusiasms of the Russian nature. The universities were by their merits, as by their defects, a very focus of revolution."¹⁷

In China, students played a major role in the downfall of the Manchu

¹⁴ See George Fischer, *Russian Liberalism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 53-56. Fischer points out that in Russia before 1905 when the lower classes were quiescent, students were the one group which had "the numbers and the hardiness to stand up physically to government force."

¹⁵ Jacob Walkin, *The Rise of Democracy in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), pp. 188-189.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-132. Autonomy was withdrawn in 1911; police broke up meetings within the universities and mass expulsions of students, as well as dismissal of professors, occurred.

¹⁷ Bernard Pares, *Russia Between Reform and Revolution* (New York: Schocken Books, 1962), pp. 180-181. This book was first published in 1907. For a detailed discussion of the situation on the Russian intelligentsia and their political roles, see, pp. 161-282.

Dynasty at the turn of the century. In large numbers, they backed Sun Yat-sen and helped spread radical ideas of modernisation and democracy throughout the country. Later, with the overthrow of the monarchy in 1911, university students rallied around the ideas of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, a professor at Peking, who called, in effect, for a thoroughly democratic and egalitarian society. Student politics reached a climax in May 1919, when the huge student demonstration which began in Peking inaugurated the second Chinese Revolution. "The movement spread across the country. In it a new note sounded when workers in factories struck in support of the student demands for a new regime."¹⁸ Many of the intellectuals and students who took part in these movements, including Ch'en Tu-hsiu, were to be among the founders of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. Student movements, demonstrations and strikes played a major role in undermining Chiang Kai-shek during the 1930s as well. They tended to favor a united front between the Kuomintang and the communists. In December 1931, a mass student demonstration in the capital, Nanking, demanded immediate united resistance to Japan. After this the student movement turned increasingly to the left and the Kuomintang attempted to suppress it. Again at the end of 1935 and in 1936, massive student demonstrations played an important role in pressing the government to accept the new United Front strategy of the communists and "the effect of the post-war [World War II] student riots was to hasten the downfall of Chiang's government and the communist victory."¹⁹

Historical patterns of student poli-

¹⁸ Harold Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* (Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 53-55.

¹⁹ John Israel, *The Chinese Student Move-*

tics comparable to the Russian and Chinese cases may be described for other communist states. Although communist ideology forbids the party from acknowledging the fact that university students have provided both the initial leadership and a large part of the mass base in countries in which the party has taken power on its own, the facts bear out this assertion. That the Castro movement developed from student activities in the University of Havana is well recognised. Less well known is the fact that the Communist Party of Cuba, itself, was founded after a massive student demonstration in the University of Havana. José Antonio Mella and other expelled student leftists founded the party in 1925. The first Vietnamese communist movement, the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Young Comrades, was founded by Ho Chi Minh in 1925 from among "large numbers of young men who had escaped from the repressions following the Hanoi Students' Movement in 1925." Among those veterans of the 1925 Student Movement who joined the communists following its suppression was Pham Van Dong, now Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Yugoslav Communist Party also secured a large proportion of its leadership from the student movement. Before World War II, the communist student organisation (SKOJ) was much larger than the rest of the movement and its members played a major role in the partisan resistance.

University Students in Underdeveloped Countries

In the underdeveloped or emerging countries, the critical attitude of the educated strata resembles the reactions of intellectuals in pre-communist Rus-

ment, 1927-1937 (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1963), p. 146.

universities and then widened their objectives as they met with repression. A report by a faculty commission of the University of Moscow, written in 1901, traced the causes and nature of every student disorder back to the 1850s. It "noted that since 1887 they had become almost annual. . . . This upward trend of student disorders was confirmed by statistics on expulsions from the university, which had doubled in the six years from 1894 to 1899, as compared to the preceding seven years. During the later period, a total of 1,214 students were expelled from the University of Moscow.

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cern with the inferior position of the nation is most acute among those who have received or are receiving a university education, since the culture which that conveys is so obviously part of a universal culture and the university community has such close ties with the international community of scholars and universities. Many of its leaders have been trained in the more advanced, higher-ranking nations, and hence are more likely to be especially prone to feelings of national inferiority. Those who seek to maintain traditional institutions within the country, who favor only moderate change, are perceived as reinforcing the inferior status of the country.

Thus the conflict between the values of intellectuals and students and of traditional institutions is intensified with an increase in national concern for modernisation and for the international position of the country. Although the inherent logic of modern university education is in principle at variance with traditional values even in culturally and linguistically more or less homogeneous countries, the conflict becomes more pronounced in new states where the university and modern cultures are either at present or in the recent past of patent foreign origin and where the language of intellectual communication so often is one which is alien to the indigenous culture.

The behavior of universities and intellectuals in developing countries should not be perceived solely or even primarily as merely a reaction to changes instigated by others. Rather, as John Friedman has argued, the "modern" intellectuals must be placed alongside those directly concerned with economic innovation as the principal agents of social change and economic growth. "The one is active in the realm of values and ideas, the other in the realm of technology and

organisation. But the actions of both will tend to undermine the established order of things."²³

The university trained "modern" intellectual has three essential tasks, "each of which is essential to the process of cultural transformation: he mediates new values, he formulates an effective ideology, and he creates an adequate, collective [national] self-image."²⁴ These place him in direct conflict with the traditionalist forces in his nation. Thus one of the central tasks of the study of the social requisites for development is the analysis of the conditions which influence the responses of the intellectuals and university students. It is interesting to note that the late C. Wright Mills, in his more direct concern with facilitating political revolution, also suggested that students and intellectuals, rather than the working class, may be an "immediate radical agency of change." As a sociologist, he urged the need "to study these new generations of intellectuals (including university students) around the world as real live agencies of historic change."²⁵

The University Situation and the Conflict of Generations

The behavior of university students in underdeveloped countries, while to some degree identical with or derivative from the characteristics of adult intellectuals in those countries, is also a function of certain elements peculiar

²³ John Friedman, "Intellectuals in Developing Societies," *Kyklos*, XIII, No. 4 (1964), 514.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 524.

²⁵ C. Wright Mills, *Power, Politics and People* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1963), pp. 256-259. Mills detailed the many actions by university students as key sources of political opposition and denigrated the political potential of the working class. In discussing the politics of students and intellectuals, he called for "detailed comparative studies of them"; p. 257.

[Thus] in Latin America . . . the young are surrounded by a mystique which seems to make people believe that their views are somehow 'purer' and less corrupt than those of their elders."²² The propensity of highly and even moderately educated youth to be radical, and of older persons to be conservative, is not peculiar to either advanced or underdeveloped countries. Within conservative as well as left-wing groups or parties, youth movements or affiliates tend to give the adult organisation trouble by their tendency to demand that the party or church live up to its principles.

In underdeveloped societies, the institutions such as the family, church and school, through which young men and women have had to pass before they entered the university, are usually concerned with transmitting the culture already accepted by the elders rather than inculcating into them a culture which is only in a barely incipient state. An approximately similar situation exists even in "modern" societies but the situation is much more acute in societies in which most of the older generation lives in a traditional indigenous culture much different from the culture the young person encounters in his contacts with the modern sector of his own society. The resulting hostility against the efforts of authority to impose on him a culture with which he has no sympathy disposes him to accept an anti-authoritarian political culture once he becomes interested in political things.

The older generations are more attached to traditional norms regarding topics such as familial authority, women's rights, authority, religion, etc., than are the younger. Differences in attitudes are also linked to education;

the better educated favor "modern" values. University students being both younger and more highly educated are specially inclined to diverge from the prescriptions of tradition in their cultural and political beliefs.

It is common for social movements and most parties in developing countries, especially when they are out of power, to have programs which correspond to many of the vague aspirations and resentments of the younger educated generations.

The most dramatic recent demonstrations of university students as the most aggressive proponents of "modern" values have occurred in Korea, Bolivia, South Vietnam and the Sudan, where students together with the army have undone governments. The Syngman Rhee regime in Korea was finally overthrown in 1960 as a result of student demonstrations, and similar activities have been directed against the military regime in 1964. This latter year has witnessed the downfall of governments in the other three countries following on demonstrations begun by students.

The need of a younger generation to establish its independence corresponds to the tactic of revolutionary movements to seek recruits among those who are not yet integrated into the institutional system. Revolutionary movements give young people an idealistic rationale for breaking with their families, which may be defined as part of the reactionary system. The higher the degree of parental control exercised before youth leave home for universities, the more violent the need to demonstrate "autonomy" once they are "free."

Resistance to the pressure of adult authorities which try to impel them towards the burdens of adulthood, of regular employment, regular family life, etc., is intensified by uncertainty

²² Luigi Einaudi, "The Drama of the Latin American Student Movement," unpublished paper, 1961, p. 2.

to the situation of the university student. University students live on the boundary between the last stage of adolescence, with its freedom from the burdens of adult responsibility, and the first stages of adulthood with its complex of pressing tasks and difficult decisions. University students are generally at an age which is defined as biologically adult; many non-students of the same age have often already entered upon adult activities, marry, earn money and spend it as they wish. Students are often at the age where they may vote and marry, and many do both. Yet few university students earn all their livelihood; many remain financially dependent on their parents, and the society at large still treats them in many ways as irresponsible adolescents, permitting and even approving of a certain amount of sowing of "wild oats." They may even violate the laws in various minor ways without being punished. In many societies the university is responsible for student conduct and the corporate autonomy of the university is often a symbol, as well as a bulwark, of the immunity of the students from external authority on their dependent condition.

Max Weber in his great lecture on "Politics as a Vocation" observed that youth has a tendency to follow "a pure ethic of absolute ends," while maturity is associated with "an ethic of responsibility." The advocate of the first fears that any compromise on matters of principles will endanger the "salvation of the soul"; the proponent of the second fears that an unwillingness to confront the complex "realities of life" may result in "the goals . . . [being] damaged and discredited for generations, because responsibility for consequences is lacking."²⁴ Thus, if

some university students are inclined to be irresponsible with respect to the norms of adult society, they are also inclined to be idealistic. They have not established a sense of affinity with adult institutions; experience has not hardened them to imperfection. Their libidos are unanchored; their capacity for identification with categories of universal scope, with mankind or the oppressed or the poor and miserable, is greater than it was earlier or than it will be later in life. Their contact with the articulated moral and political standards of their society is abstract; they encounter them as principles promulgated by older persons, as impositions by authority, rather than as maxims incorporated into and blurred by their own practice. Increasingly in the modern world, which includes the highly educated sector of the emerging nations, equality, efficiency, justice and economic wellbeing are presented as the values of the good society. Poverty, racial discrimination, caste systems, social inequality, administrative and political corruption, and cultural backwardness are all violations of such principles. In all countries, of course, reality is usually at variance with principles, and young persons, especially those who have been indulged in adolescence, and are alienated from the authority of their elders or of their parents, teachers and other rulers of the institutional system, feel this strongly. Educated young people everywhere, consequently tend disproportionately to support idealistic movements which take the ideologies or values of the adult world more seriously than does the adult world itself. Youthful idealism, even when it leads to rejection of adult practices, is often "expected and respected. . . ."

lated and edited by H. H. Gerth, and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 126-127.

²⁴ Max Weber, *Essays in Sociology*, trans.

modernity. This entails draconic measures against "remnants of neo-colonialism," against chiefs, against foreign enterprisers, having a rapid rate of economic growth and scoring "anti-colonialist" points in the international arena of the United Nations. Governments which give an air of going about their business in a tough-minded and aggressive way appear dynamic. In Iran, students criticise the regime as conservative, while many identify the military government in Pakistan as dynamic. This is clearly brought out in surveys of student opinion in both countries, which asked identical questions. In Iran only 8 per cent believe that the standard of living is going up for the people, as contrasted with 52 per cent in Pakistan.²⁸

Two surveys of "francophone" African students studying in French universities report that majorities of those interviewed stated that there is a conflict of views and/or interests between themselves personally, or the youth of their country generally, and their government. The proportions indicating such differences were lower among those from the two countries with avowedly radical regimes, Guinée and Mali, than from students from other mainland African states. However, one investigation which also included students from the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) found that they had the least disagreement with their regime.

The characteristics of the dominant elites, and the connections between those elites and the universities, influence the degree of identification with, or opposition to, government policy by the university community at large, or subsections within it. In his analysis

of Japanese educational developments since the Meiji Restoration, Ronald Dore points out that the original opposition to government policies came from the staff and students of the less well-connected private universities which were identified with the various "outgroups" among the middle classes in the larger society. The imperial (state) universities were close to the government and supplied the large majority of the higher civil servants and political leaders of the Restoration time.

By the twenties when industrialists began to exercise more influence on Japanese life, both staff and students began to be attracted by revolutionary ideologies which demanded drastic social changes. In the post World War II period of rapid growth, prosperous capitalism and bourgeois domination of parliament, Dore suggests, the private universities have become much more identified with the regime than the state universities. The latter "have preserved the 'devotion-to-high-principle' strain in the Confucian scholar-ruler tradition of the oligarchy and remain the home of the politically minded intellectual—now typically 'alienated' and forming the nucleus of political opposition."²⁹

The extent of concern with politics among students in different countries is in part a function of the degree of tension in the larger polity. It has been argued that the "apparent greater student interest in national politics among Latin American students is probably a reflection of more general political uncertainty and instability in Latin America. . . . Thus national

²⁸ See *Teheran University Study: Attitudes and Aspirations* (Teheran: National Institute of Psychology, 1963), p. 19; and *Student Survey in Pakistan* (Bielefeld: E.M.N.I.D., 1963), pp. 89-90.

²⁹ Ronald P. Dore, "Education Japan," in R. E. Ward and D. Rustow, eds., *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 180-187. He is, of course, writing chiefly of the leading state and private universities.

as to whether the roles towards which they are being impelled will actually be available. The poor employment prospects for university-educated youth in many underdeveloped countries enlarge the reservoir of late adolescent rebellion from which revolutionary politics can draw support.

Students engaged in the courses of study which entail something like apprenticeship for a definite profession, e.g., engineering, medicine and preparation for secondary school teaching, where employment prospects are fair, are likely to be less rebellious than students in courses of study without determinate destinations and in which the pattern of instruction does not require personal contact between teachers and students. The most insecure of all are those without specific aims or prospects and who therefore will have to compete with multitudes of other arts graduates, equally poorly qualified, for a small number of inconsequential posts. In the past decade the rapid expansion of the university student population in much of Asia has increased this source of student insecurity. Unemployment or low-status employment awaits many graduates.

The ecological concentration of universities within a limited area, bringing together many young men and women in a similar situation in life, and isolating them for the most part from the motley routine of adult life contributes to the perpetuation of student restlessness. This is as true of universities in underdeveloped countries as it is of those in advanced countries.

Like a vast factory, a large campus brings together great numbers of people in similar life situations, in close proximity to each other, who can acquire a sense of solidarity and wield real power. In Tokyo there are over

200,000 students on the various campuses in the city; the comparable figures for Peiping and Calcutta are about 100,000; in Mexico City there are over 65,000; and in Buenos Aires, there are close to 70,000 students in the university. It is relatively easy to reach students; leaflets handed out at the campus gates will usually do the job. These facilitate quick communication, foster solidarity, and help to arouse melodramatic action. The organization of campus life at the new African universities, as well as in the colleges and universities of India and Pakistan, even where the numbers run only into a few thousand, has the same result. The politicians' awareness that students have contributed so much in the past to the independence movements and to revolutionary movements makes them appreciate the students' political potential in the politics of the immediate present. They are aware of their value in increasing the size of demonstrations and of the heat which can be given to demonstrations by their youthful excitability.

The Political Situation in the Country at Large

In large measure, student political behavior is anticipatory adult political behavior, particularly in developing countries, where even student demands for better universities, teachers and research facilities are part of the struggle for national development. Consequently, student behavior will often reflect the state of adult policies, even if in a more extreme reformist fashion.

For the most part, "being dynamic" is the main element in the student political demands addressed to the authorities of their respective countries. "Being dynamic" means making dramatic exertions in the direction of

restrain student political activity is suggested by a recent study of the Arab world which reports that in ". . . Egypt and Syria, recently, the regime has been . . . successful in curbing political activities by increasing the number of examinations, stiffening the requirements to stay enrolled, trying to emphasise science and technology. . . ." ³³

Nonetheless, efforts to raise standards in an atmosphere impregnated with traditions of student agitation may themselves arouse unrest and political activity. The student generation which is subjected to demands for greater exertion may find their chances to gain a degree reduced. In various parts of Asia there have been "spectacular student demonstrations in recent years, some of them with disturbing political overtones, . . . apparently caused by well-intended government measures to up-grade the curriculum. For example, a recent outburst of student agitation in Pakistan stemmed from the government's attempt to implement the report of the country's Educational Commission pointing the way to a lengthening and improvement of a number of curricula. But stiffer and tougher courses proved burdensome not only on those without the intellectual qualifications, but also on those with but slender means; and angry demonstrations, student strikes and walkouts, even destruction of campus property, have been the result." ³⁴

cussion of the nature and sources of student indiscipline may be found in Margaret Cormack, *She Who Rides a Peacock: Indian Students and Social Change* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), especially pp. 174-212.

³³ M. Berger, *The Arab World Today* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), p. 333.

³⁴ Justus M. Van der Kroef, "Asian Education and Unemployment: The Continuing

In Venezuela, in a deliberate effort to reduce student opposition politics, the University of Caracas adopted a "no repeating rule" in 1963, which provided that a student who failed more than twice was to be dropped permanently from the rolls of the university. This rule, however, was not enforced until the crisis of mid-May 1964, in which the police violated traditional university autonomy in order to arrest students accused of acts of terrorism. When the Rector responded to violent demonstrations against these arrests by announcing that the "no repeating rule" would be strictly enforced, a student strike designed to force the repeal of the rule developed, supported by both communist and Christian democratic student groups. The demonstrations and strike failed, however, when the university administration made it clear that if they continued, all students would be faced with the loss of a year's credit. Much of the success of these efforts to impose more exigent standards depends on the determination of university administrators and the attitude of the public. That students in their opposition to higher standards may be supported by a public which is concerned mainly with increasing the production of university graduates is indicated in Dr. Karve's account from India: "It has happened that when the result of a particular examination was rather strict and a larger number of candidates than usual failed, public agitation in the newspapers and on the platform has been known to have taken place as a protest against the 'massacre of the innocents.'" ³⁵

Where universities follow the his-

Crisis," *Comparative Education Review*, VII, No. 2 (1963), 178.

³⁵ D. D. Karve, "Universities and the Public in India," *Minerva*, I, No. 3 (Spring, 1963), p. 268.

politics become a matter of concern to everybody."³⁰

Where, in a condition of political tension, the existing adult elites and counter-elites are ill-organised and ineffectual, student organisations are likely to become more important in the political sphere. "... if young persons can gain sufficient influence to change on occasion the course of national political life, then ... other power centres must be in such disarray as to elevate the relative power of any organised group."³¹ Thus, countries in which governments may be toppled by the political action of the military, are often the same nations in which student activity is of major significance. Korea, Bolivia, the Sudan and South Vietnam are the most recent cases in point.

The Student within the University

Academic standards are relevant. The greater the pressure placed on students to work hard to retain their position in university or to obtain a good appointment after graduation, the less they will participate in politics of any kind. Such an emphasis on rigorous training will be related to some extent to the professionalisation of the teaching staff. Where the staff is part-time, as in most of Latin America, students will be more inclined to give their attention to non-academic concerns, including politics. Students are also more available for politics in universities which do not hold the undergraduates to a demanding syllabus. This

³⁰ R. Havighurst, "Latin American and North American Higher Education," *Comparative Education Review*, IV, No. 3 (1963), 180.

³¹ K. Silvert, "The University Student," in John J. Johnson, ed., *Continuity and Change in Latin America* (Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 217.

is the case in Japan and India. Within the university, of course, similar variations hold. Fields such as the natural sciences, which generally require more concentrated study and work than the arts subjects or the social sciences, will inhibit the inclination of students towards politics. Where there is sufficient concern for standards of instruction and student numbers are accordingly restricted to a level compatible with adequate instruction, as in engineering and medical faculties in India, student indiscipline is less marked.

An analysis of the behavior of Indian students which seeks to account for differences among universities, indicates that the colleges with better trained and more devoted staffs experience relatively few incidents of student indiscipline. The students most likely to be involved in such activities appear to come from the arts faculties of institutions and departments of low standing, which require low *per capita* investment, which do not inculcate into the student a sense of self-esteem in the pursuit of knowledge and which offer fewer employment opportunities.

The weak concern for academic standards in India is reflected in the admission standards of many of the larger universities which admit students, some suggest a majority, who do not have the background to carry on university level work "... the Vice-Chancellor of one of the greatest and oldest universities in India ... recognised the futility of his university's task but suggested that it nevertheless fulfilled a social function. 'We keep tens of thousands of young people off the streets,' he said, 'and instead of letting them become delinquents we turn them, instead, into communists.'"³² That it is possible to

³² Chanchal Sarkar, *The Unquiet Campus: Indian Universities Today* (Calcutta: The Statesman, 1960), p. 6; another detailed dis-

that they must follow the example set by those in the major leagues in order to assure themselves that they are university students too. Thus the same type of movement spreads easily all over the country, and federation is readily accomplished under the leadership of the students in leading universities."³⁹

Earlier it was noted that the larger the university, the greater the absolute number of those with dispositions to political activity and the stronger their mutual support, organisation and resources. Larger student bodies will also heighten the tendency towards the formation of an autonomous student culture resistant to the efforts of the university administration to control it. Large universities in capital cities are, therefore, especially prone to agitation and demonstrative student politics. The massive demonstrations mounted in Tokyo in opposition to the Mutual Security Treaty between Japan and the United States; in Seoul against a treaty between Japan and Korea; in Buenos Aires against a bill providing for state support of private (Catholic) universities; in Warsaw and Budapest demanding more freedom; in Paris against the Algerian war; and many others in recent years have been associated with the existence of large universities located in major metropolitan centres, often national capitals, in which students have provided an easily mobilisable population available for opposition to authority.

The greater the number of years the student spends at the university, the greater the likelihood of student political activity. Tenure may be determined not only by actual number of scheduled course years, but by rules pertain-

ing to requirements for a degree. Where the university system permits students to "hang around" for years, to finish at their own discretion, one may find the phenomenon of the professional student, from whose ranks political leaders are likely to be recruited. Shils points to those Indians who "live on in the university or college hostels, not registered, not studying, nothing academic about them except their residence and their associates. Older, tougher, more ingenious, often seductively attractive, these 'professional' students are often the catalysts who agitate lambs into lions."⁴⁰ Such a system also permits political parties to maintain paid agents on campus, as occurs in India, Latin America and elsewhere. "The possibility of making a career of being a student over an extended period by moving from one practically autonomous 'faculty' to another, and the extended courses taken by many students, so that the presence of students over 30 years of age does not cause any lifted eyebrows, is a circumstance favorable to the unremarked continuous presence of such agents who have other motives than to get an education."⁴¹

Whether students live at home with their families, in university halls of residence, or in "digs" will affect their involvement in politics in particular. The common life in a hostel or hall of residence or dormitory enhances the formation of common student attitudes, a consciousness of kind and the readiness to mobilise for organised activity. The *Cité Universitaire* in Paris clearly has facilitated student political

³⁹ M. Shimbori, "Zengakuren: A Japanese Case Study of a Student Political Movement," *Sociology of Education*, XXXVII, No. 2 (1964), 232.

⁴⁰ E. Shils, "Indian Students," *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴¹ E. Wight Bakke, "Students on the March: The Cases of Mexico and Colombia," *Sociology of Education*, XXXVII, No. 3 (1964), 204.

toric Bologna practices of student participation in the government of the university through elections to university bodies, one may expect more political activity among students. In Latin American universities, generally about one-third of the governing body are students. "The ideal of the university as a republic in microcosm has been central to student ideology in Latin America since the launching of the Cordoba University Reform Movement in Argentina in 1918. . . . in Latin America the student is used to exercising, or at least demands as his right, a much greater role in the conduct of university affairs than would be dreamed of on a U.S. campus."³⁶ University issues such as the quality of teaching, the extent of library facilities and the character of dormitories, are linked in these situations to larger political matters.

Perhaps the best example of the way in which the concern of a student movement for a specifically academic demand, namely, the improvement of the quality of education, may have widespread political consequences is, of course, the famous Latin American University Reform Movement which began in the University of Cordoba in Argentina in 1918. It spread through much of Latin America, demanding a greater emphasis on the social and physical sciences and changes in the university government so as to give increased power to representatives of the staff and students. But regardless of its success in changing the university, the Reform Movement politicised university life in many Latin American countries. Robert Alexander reports: "there is no doubt that after 1918 each generation of students passed on

to the next what had become a tradition of intense political activity by an appreciable part of the student body."³⁷

The location of a university in or near a capital encourages political activity because national political organisations and personalities are more on the minds of students and are also more available as the foci of thought, agitation and demonstration. Staff members are likewise more politicised and students are more accessible to political agitators. Thus it was that Bengal, and particularly Calcutta, became the first centre of student political agitation—Calcutta was the capital of the British Raj until 1912.

Latin America, Burma and Japan testify to a similar relationship. "With few exceptions the only student organisations that historically have had important roles in political life (in Latin America) are those of the major national universities established in the capital cities."³⁸ Student political activity may soon become as high in provincial as in metropolitan universities, however, since those in the less prestigious institutions may feel the need to be politically involved to validate their claim to equal distinction. In Japanese student movements, "leadership is taken by students of the leading universities (located in Tokyo and Kyoto), and most of the participants belong to them. At the same time students in the minor leagues may feel

³⁷ Robert Alexander, *Today's Latin America* (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1962), p. 199. Perhaps the best collection of materials in English on the University Reform Movement is a book of articles by various Latin American scholars and participants in the movement; *University Reform in Latin America, Analyses and Documents*, published by the International Student Conference; no editor, no place or date of publication indicated.

³⁸ K. Silvert, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

³⁶ Frank Bonilla, "The Student Federation of Chile: 50 Years of Political Action," *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, II, No. 3 (1960), 312.

autonomous and more or less alienated student community. Frank Bonilla has said that the relatively low level of competence of professors in Brazil and the consequent lack of respect for them by students is one of the factors which "occasionally makes for excesses and for a hyper-politicisation of academic issues" in that country.⁴⁴ An eminent Indian administrator and educator writing of the sources of student indiscipline attributes much responsibility to the fact that "teachers today do not command the respect and affection of their pupils to the extent they did in the past" and suggests various devices to raise the social status of academics.

The high cost of living in large towns and the lack of financial support or opportunity for employment clearly generate student dissatisfaction and unrest in India and Burma, although this does not determine whether their unrest will take a political form or will express itself in other forms of indiscipline. Student poverty fosters and intensifies resentment which frequently focuses on questions of fees, hostel and food charges, etc. The main themes of the resentments of impoverished students, particularly in countries without traditions of part-time student employment or without opportunities for it, are easily adaptable to the major themes of conventional extremist political agitation. Part-time student employment does not really fit into the traditions of university life in most countries—students in underdeveloped countries either come from or aspire to

a style of life in which learning and manual work are thought to be incompatible—nor does it fit into the economic situation of those countries. There is, therefore, no remedy for student poverty except further subsidy, or the refusal of admission to indigent students, which is contrary to every assumption of present-day public life, and raises serious questions of policy as to how to deal with unemployed secondary school-leavers.

Alternative Activities

Participation in politics is an alternative to other forms of extracurricular activity. "In Colombia and Mexico, where the extracurriculum is virtually non-existent, at least in the public universities, satisfaction of this leadership ambition must focus on participation in university management and in the opportunity to stimulate, organise and inspire student group action."⁴⁵

In the United States, organised sports were expressly introduced into colleges and universities to divert the adolescent energy which in many college communities had gone into brawls and "town and gown" riots. Conscious but unsuccessful efforts to manipulate the situation similarly so as to diminish the energy available for political activity have been attempted by some American-run universities in the Arab world: "American universities in the Near East have tried to reduce their [student] political activity, which takes the form of demonstrations and strikes, by providing more opportunities for extracurricular activities such as athletics and clubs of many kinds. The logic behind this policy has been that such hitherto neglected aspects of Arab campus life might drain off the

⁴⁴ Frank Bonilla, "Education and Political Development in Brazil: Growth Toward Nationhood," mimeographed paper prepared for the Conference on Education and Political Development held at Lake Arrowhead, California, June 25-29, 1962, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁵ E. W. Bakke, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

activity in recent years. This proposition assumes of course that these common residential arrangements are not attended by strict supervision by adults, where the wardens or other university or college officials stand *in loco parentis*. The relative peacefulness of student life in British and American universities is partly a function of the strength of a tradition in which the teaching staff takes on responsibility for the surveillance and supervision of the students' affairs. The provision of hostels on the continental and Indian styles, where it occurs against a tradition of an almost complete *laissez-faire* attitude on the part of the teaching staff *vis-à-vis* the students, only contributes to turning the halls of residence into centres of agitation.

Living in digs and cafes, in the pattern of the major Latin continental countries, France and Italy, is frequently associated with the emergence of an autonomous political culture among the students and that culture is usually agitational and extremist.

Living at home prolongs the authority of the family over the student and tends to insulate him from university influences. The Indian student study cited earlier indicated that the more conservative the political party, the more likely were its supporters to live with parents or relatives while attending university, while a disproportionate number of more leftist students lived in hostels or in a "private lodge." In Japan, with its strong radical student movement, the centres of activity are in "the metropolitan areas, especially Tokyo [which] have the largest proportion of students who are far from home and live either in a dormitory or in a lodging. They are freer as well as lonelier than students who live at home. Their marginality is greater, and they are less controlled—

a favorable condition again for student movements."⁴²

Similarly, a survey of student political leaders in Santiago, Chile, reports that the "greater freedom of action of students from the provinces, many of whom escape strict parental control for the first time on coming to the university also helps to explain the prominence of provincials."⁴³

The quality of the relationships between students and their teachers depends in part on the traditions which have developed within the various university systems and on the student/staff ratio. Where there is a drastic separation between students and teachers, where teachers have other than university employment, or where there is a very great number of students per staff member, the staff will have less direct influence on student behavior than where the relationship is more that of the apprentice working closely with the master. The relationship between teachers and students is, of course, not exclusively determined by the number of students a teacher must teach. The deference accorded to university teachers within their society will to some extent affect their influence on students. The eminence of teachers in the world of science and scholarship, their interest in their own subjects and their academic self-esteem based on their belief in the worthiness of their calling and accomplishment are additional factors which determine whether students become integrated into the structure of the university as an intellectual community connected with the centre of its society or whether they become attached to

⁴² K. Shimbori, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁴³ Frank Bonilla, *Students in Politics: Three Generations of Political Action in a Latin-American University* (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1959), p. 253.

pursuit of a "career" through attendance at university, they have more difficulties in settling down. Their pecuniary as well as cultural poverty places them under a great strain. Just what this contributes to the extreme politicisation of university students is uncertain. It surely causes distress but whether distress gives rise to extremist political attitudes is not settled. Bonilla believes that it does have such a consequence, at least for Chile. "... important segments of student leadership come from lower middle- and working-class families, from the provinces and from among first-generation Chileans (though only 3.2 per cent. of the population were foreign-born, 31 per cent. of the student leaders had at least one foreign-born parent). In an extremely class-conscious country, all of these are groups with a marked status disadvantage. They are the groups bearing the brunt of existing inequities, the ones with the most to gain from social and political reforms and the individuals most likely to be caught up in the competition for status."⁴⁹

Surveys of Brazilian and Panamanian law students also suggest that lower class origins tend to render students more political. Brazilian students of lower status background were more likely to believe that such activities should be engaged in regularly than were students from more privileged families. A study of student attitudes conducted at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, in 1960, revealed that students whose fathers had lower status occupations were more likely to be affiliated to a political party, and among the affiliated those from lower status backgrounds were more likely to be politically active.

The study of Panamanian law stu-

dents, which distinguished between "radical nationalists," those who strongly favored nationalisation of the Canal, and "moderates," those who felt less strongly about or who opposed nationalisation, supports the hypothesis regarding the class correlates of radicalism. The more radical students disproportionately came from rural or small town backgrounds and low-income families. Their "backgrounds were marginal in a few significant respects which suggest that they may feel relatively deprived in status."⁵⁰ And an analysis of Brazilian student opinion in a number of universities reported that lower family income tends to be associated with more leftist views. A survey among college students in various parts of China in 1937 revealed that students in the lowest income group, primarily sons of small landlords and peasants, were most likely to have "radical," essentially communist, political sympathies.

We may wish to distinguish between societies in which admission to university is easy and those in which it is difficult; whether there is mass education, as in the United States, the Philippines, Puerto Rico or Argentina, in which almost anyone who wants to enter a university may do so; and where education is "elitist," based on the assumption that universities should admit only a relatively small elite who meet stringent criteria and have passed through a rigorous system of elimination in the lower schools, as in Britain and the former British African colonies.

Elitist systems tend to assure those who succeed in reaching university a

⁵⁰ Daniel Goldrich, *Radical Nationalism: The Political Orientations of Panamanian Law Students* (East Lansing: Bureau of Political and Social Research, Michigan State University, 1961), pp. 7, 9, 19.

⁴⁹ F. Bonilla, *Students in Politics*, p. 253.

students' political energies into other channels. But this American technique has not worked. The new activities have only given the students additional stages upon which to play their political roles, more opportunities to disagree with one another, more arenas in which to extend their political attitudes on the campus."⁴⁶ In Japan also, during the 1920's, in a conscious effort to counter the growth of student radicalism, "political societies were banned in the universities, sports were encouraged instead, and the puritanical restrictions on high school love affairs were relaxed in an effort to divert student energies to less dangerous channels."⁴⁷ The traditional pattern could not, however, be overcome.

The mere provision of opportunity for extracurricular activities does not, then, guarantee that all or even most students will make a satisfactory social adjustment. In all societies, some, for reasons of personality, inadequate income, or family background, will find themselves to be "outsiders." Political groups simultaneously gratify the resentment of "outsiders" and give them a dignified position in the course of their activities.

Much of the time which male university students in Western countries do not devote to study or to student societies is devoted to attending to young women. Where the tradition of marriage by arrangement prevails, and women are isolated from men before marriage, this opportunity does not exist. Even the small proportion of young women in the student body in such societies live within this tradition. They are more carefully watched over by custodians and the young men are too shy and too gauche. That this is not a minor student concern is dramatically revealed in a recent study of

Asian students: "In a series of samples of over 1,500 students in four South-East Asian universities who were asked: 'What has been the most serious personal problem which has adversely affected your university studies?', over 80 per cent answered: 'Troubles with the opposite sex.' This did not mean troubles with females with whom relationships had been established but rather the inability to initiate any relationships at all with them. The stories are legion of Rangoon University male students who for months follow, from a distance, female students they admire in the hope that somehow they might be introduced to them. The initiation of the faintest and least erotic heterosexual relationships in Asian universities is hampered by inhibition and uncertainty."⁴⁸

As a result, students have more time and energy than they can or are willing to use on their studies and they have no satisfactory outlet for them. Their sexual propensities exist in a vacuum. The vacuum is sometimes filled by restless and freely floating hostility and sometimes by the precipitation of that hostility into a political form.

Patterns of Recruitment to Universities

There has been an increase in the proportion of university students in underdeveloped countries coming from lower middle class, village and even peasant families, although the last are still very rare. Students from these backgrounds tend to be less sophisticated, less at ease in the languages of academic discourse. Despite what seems to be their great seriousness in the

⁴⁸ Joseph Fischer, "The University Student in South and South-East Asia," *Minerva*, II (Autumn, 1963), 49; and Benjamin Schlesinger, "Student Unrest in Indian Universities," *Comparative Education Review*, VI, No. 3 (1963), 221.

⁴⁶ M. Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

⁴⁷ Ronald P. Dore, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

The phenomena of increasing university enrolments and a decreasing prospect of access to elite positions for large numbers of university graduates has also occurred to some extent in Latin America. José Enrique Miguens refers to the consequent "deep impression that they are not needed by their societies, that not only are they employed in marginal occupations with minimal [economic] rewards, but they are not accorded gratitude or other forms of social esteem beyond some stylistic flattery in the way they are addressed."⁵³

Concluding Observations

This paper has attempted to analyse some of the conditions under which university students, above all university students in underdeveloped countries, reject incorporation into the university as an intellectual community and refuse to accept the existing political and social order of which the university is a part in the political sphere. It has sought also to account for the radical orientation, usually socialist, of their political outlook and activity. It has considered the factors which help account for variations in the direction and intensity of student political orientations, including cultural and social characteristics of underdeveloped countries, the characteristics of the universities in such countries and the characteristics of the students themselves.

In general, it may be said that where the society, the university and the student are committed to the fullest development of research and teaching in an atmosphere of academic freedom, and where adequate resources

are available in the form of faculty, libraries, laboratories and financial support, students are less likely to engage in political activities and more likely to allow themselves to be assimilated into the corporate life of the university as an institution devoted to the interpretation of what is inherited, the discovery of new truths, and the training of students to do both of these and to prepare themselves for careers based on these activities. On the other hand, even when these conditions are present, there is an inherent tendency for students to take a critical attitude towards the *status quo*. This critical attitude is the product of a tradition of criticism and alienation, and of the rebellious attitude of youth towards their elders in modern societies; it is also a product of the application of the presumed standards of advanced countries to the behavior of present elites and the societies they govern.

Many protest movements directed at changes in the university constitution and amenities are not always linked to demands for political changes. Indeed, much of the student indiscipline in some underdeveloped countries has become quite apolitical. Some of it expresses grievances about the conditions of life and study and some of it expresses an amorphous dissatisfaction and hostility with immediate authoritative institutions, without political objects or legitimations. It is particularly important to notice that even though radical and extremist attitudes and actions occur frequently among highly politicised students, many students are not very politicised and some of them, in so far as they have political attitudes at all, are conservative, moderate or liberal. Thus, a study conducted among students in 22 universities and colleges throughout China in 1937, a period when student radical activity was at its height,

Struggle in Japan (Tokyo: Charles Tuttle, 1956), pp. 141-142.

⁵³ José Enrique Miguens, "Radiografías de las Juventudes Latinamericanas," *Occidente*, XVII, No. 141 (October, 1962), 20.

guaranteed place in the upper levels of society. To enter, remain in and graduate from, systems of higher education is all-important. Relatively few drop out through failure or other reasons. Students may realistically expect to enter the elite and thus they tend to identify with the existing one. One may anticipate, therefore, that elitist systems will be less productive of student political unrest than those which do not offer secure paths to success. A study of Nigerian and Sierra Leonean students attending the University College of Sierra Leone provides striking evidence of elite status expectations in two countries where university students form a tiny minority of their age group. When asked: "By the time you are 45, how active are you likely to be in the political life of your country as a whole?", 49 per cent. of the Nigerians said they expected to be cabinet ministers (24 per cent.) or members of the legislature (25 per cent.). Sierra Leoneans were somewhat less sanguine about high-level political careers, but only 35 per cent. of them reported that they did not expect to play any significant political role, as contrasted with 27 per cent. among the Nigerians. This is not simply a function of better intellectual and social qualifications on admission or of better prospects after graduation. The pattern of teaching in the "elitist" systems is much more conducive to the incorporation of the student into the university community as a part of the central institutional system. Residence in halls with intimate contact with teachers serving *in loco parentis*, smaller classes, tutorial arrangements, isolation in a part of the country not far from, but not easily accessible to, the capital city, as well as a generally patrician, non-populist, social and political culture all contribute to this result.

The situation of the Egyptian, Japa-

nese and Indian students, on the other hand, may be cited to illustrate the consequence of a policy of unlimited admission. In these nations, attendance at university has "skyrocketed" since independence, far outstripping the rise in suitable job opportunities. Malcolm Kerr suggests that in Egypt it "is this explosive compound of the high aspirations and self-conscious dignity instilled by university education on the one hand and the frustration and deception imposed by the conditions of the market, that has made university students and graduates a continuing revolutionary force. . . ." Their current support for Nasser rests on his commitment "to provide them with opportunities for successful careers."⁵¹

In Japan: "Since the end of the war there has been a very spectacular increase in the total number of students enrolled in the higher schools and universities. . . . The proportion of economically poor students has increased at a much higher rate than has the total number of students. . . . The family of the poor student invariably makes a supreme economic sacrifice to get him through college. Nevertheless, only about half of the more than 120 thousand students who graduate annually from the universities are able to find jobs which are in any way commensurate with their level of aspirations and ambitions. With each passing year, it can be anticipated that there will be a steady increase in the number of unemployed or 'improperly' employed university graduates who will be dissatisfied with their lot."⁵²

⁵¹ Malcolm Kerr, "Education and Political Development in Egypt: Some Problems of Political Socialization," mimeographed paper for the Conference on Education and Political Development held at Lake Arrowhead, California, June 25-29, 1962, pp. 25-27.

⁵² L. H. Battistini, *The Postwar Student*

ism, 57 per cent. answered "very good" or "good" as contrasted with 10 per cent. who had negative answers. A comparable question about "communism" revealed 25 per cent. favourable and 40 per cent. negative. And "capitalism" as a system was approved by 29 per cent. and termed as "bad" or "very bad" by over 40 per cent. of those replying.

A recent survey of students in Colombian universities also points to the diversity of political attitudes among students. The large majority expressed dissatisfaction with all parties, including the left-wing liberals and the communists. Of those with preferences, about half favored the parties of government coalition, the official liberals and the conservatives. The communists were backed by 11 per cent. of those who expressed an opinion, or 4 per cent. of the total sample. But though Colombian students may not identify with any specific reformist or communist ideology, it is important to note that there is a relationship between their satisfaction with their own society and their political opinions. The more dissatisfied students were the least likely to have a preference for any party.

The discrepancy between the image of university students in developing countries as predominantly leftist, and the data reported in various opinion surveys, points to the existence of large numbers of students who are indifferent to politics or who, whatever their preferences, do not have intense feelings about political things. The Brazilian study, cited earlier, reports that among students who state that they are "very interested" in politics, 60 per cent. have negative attitudes towards capitalism, while among those reporting that they "are not at all interested in politics," only 16 per cent. are anti-capitalist. However, 55 per

cent. of the politically apathetic group indicate hostility to communism, as contrasted with but 37 per cent. anti-communist among the very interested. The Mexican study suggests a comparable pattern among students in that country.

Whatever the qualifications which have to be introduced into the picture drawn in the preceding pages, the fact remains that university students in underdeveloped countries constitute a significant proportion of the rebellious elements in their respective societies. As such they play an important part in political life. But what happens to their political rebelliousness when they cease to be students?

Writing about what happened to the revolutionary students of Czarist Russia of 60 years ago after they had left university, Bernard Pares raised this question and suggested an answer: "What becomes of the ex-student? In fact, he very often ceases to be a reformer when he ceases to be a student, that is, when he becomes a man. He begins to get experience of life and he leaves his ideals behind him. This . . . discounts the political value of the student's ideals. . . . Friends of reason and of liberty must be grateful to the universities for offering at least the nucleus of a protest of principle. In a word, one has much less reason to quarrel with the spirit of self-sacrifice amongst the students than with the instinct of self-interest which so many of them have shown when they passed into the ranks of officialdom."⁵⁵

Yet it is doubtful whether Pares was right concerning the adult behavior of student revolutionaries in Russia. Ten years after he wrote, political movements largely led and staffed by the alumni of student protest overturned

⁵⁵ B. Pares, *Russia between Reform and Revolution* (New York Schocken Books, 1962), pp. 197-198.

revealed wide variation in student ideological orientations. Of some 1,600 students, 10 per cent. were "conservative," 14 per cent. "fascist," 12 per cent. "democratic," 10 per cent. "Christian," 19 per cent. "radical" (communist) and 16 per cent. "nationalist."⁶⁴ In India, a sample of students from 10 universities, when asked to give their preferred choice of government among a number of alternatives, opted 23 per cent. in favor of parliamentary democracy as in England, 15 per cent. for democracy as in the United States, 18 per cent. for democratic socialism, 6 per cent. for the Soviet type of socialism, 21 per cent. for people's democracy as in new China and 10 per cent. for "dictatorship." And when asked their views concerning civil liberties for minority groups, 36 per cent. of these students indicated agreement with the statement, "Steps should be taken right away to outlaw the Communist Party," as contrasted with 52 per cent. who opposed such an action and 9 per cent. who could not make up their minds.

Other countries in Asia in fact reveal considerable political conservatism among university students. Thus a study of opinions in four universities in the Philippines reports that the overwhelming majority gave very pro-American responses in answer to questions concerning the nature of the American social system or about correspondence of the interests of the Philippines and the United States, while much antagonism was evidenced towards both the Soviet Union and Communist China. Almost two-thirds indicated "satisfaction" with the way American "private companies operated their businesses in the Philippines."

In Malaysia, a study of student

⁶⁴ Recomputed from data in Table XV in Olga Lang, *Chinese Family and Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946).

opinion at the University of Malaya reported that, when asked to state their preference for government or private ownership of industry, the respondents divided into three almost equal parts, for a mixed system, for private ownership and for government ownership. Seventy per cent. reported having a good opinion of Great Britain and the United States, as contrasted with only 14 per cent. favorable to the Soviet Union and 7 per cent. to Communist China.

In Thailand similar questions answered by students of Thammasat University resulted in even more conservative responses. Forty-five per cent. of the Thai students favored private ownership of industry as contrasted to 25 per cent. for government ownership and 27 per cent. "mixed" replies. They were also more pro-American than the Malaysians (86 per cent.) and more hostile to the Soviet Union and Communist China.

In Latin America too there is substantial evidence that radical and extremist views are far from the only ones to be found among university students. Most recently there has been a decline of the Reformista vote in elections at the University of Buenos Aires, and across the Andes, in the Chilean University elections, a loss of votes for the leftist coalition, F.R.A.P. In Brazil, students, when asked to give their opinions of capitalism, divided almost evenly: 50 per cent. answered positively, while 47 per cent. were negative. Conversely, 26 per cent. stated that communism is "good" while 68 per cent. thought it was "bad." A Mexican study based on interviews with students in nine universities also reports considerable ideological diversity, although as a group they seemed much more favorable to socialism than their compeers in Argentina or Brazil. When asked their opinions of social-

Czarist autocracy. Today in many countries, local political experts agree with Pares about the lack of long-term consequences of student radicalism on participants after graduation. In Japan where there is general agreement that student socialists turn conservative after securing employment leading to positions in business or government, opinion surveys show that more university graduates vote for leftist rather than for conservative parties and that there is a larger socialist vote among the "management and professionals" category than among manual workers. A Japanese sociologist informed the author that a confidential survey conducted among a sample of young business executives (under 40) reported that a majority voted for the left-wing Socialist Party. In India, also, survey data show disproportionate backing for the more leftist tendencies among the university-educated. As in Czarist Russia and the China of some decades past, leftist ideologies, socialism and current varieties of socialism or communism have been strong among the elite because these political tendencies are symbolically associated with modernisation, rapid economic development and ultimately with equality, all of these being objectives favored by the well educated. Capitalism is perceived as being linked to foreign influences, traditionalism and slow growth. Hence many of the younger and better schooled members of the elites, including business executives, often look with favor on or at least are not hostile to leftist tendencies. Such patterns are more common in Asia and Africa than they are in Latin America, but they seem to exist in most of the nations of the "third world."

The Need for Further Research

It is clear that if we are to understand the effects of modern education

on the dynamics of change in these countries, it is important not only to study what happens to the student within universities, but also the way in which those who have had a "modern" education and who have become part of the intellectual classes conceive of their society and its system of authority after they have left university. As yet, however, there are even fewer reliable data concerning the attitudes of the adults of the intellectual classes than concerning students.

Our observations of the political effects of university education, or simply of the political correlates of university education, are still in a very primitive state. Indeed, the entire study of universities and their role in the development of the society, polity, economy and culture of their countries is still to be undertaken systematically. There are multitudes of questions requiring answers, but there are few answers. We know little about the influence of the patterns of university organisation or the types of courses of study best fitted to train young people to become responsible and effective incumbents of elite positions in countries which seek to modernise themselves. The influence of university studies, patterns of recruitment, modes of teaching, on intellectual, professional, political and cultural standards and aspirations or the assimilation of students into the various spheres of adult activity is still *terra incognita*. Nor are we better informed about the influence of family background, modes pre-university education and intra-generational relationships on academic political performance at the university and after graduation.

One major hypothesis of great practical importance asserts that the intense involvement of students in politics is least likely where their universities have very high standards, adequate study and research facilities and a

If the state insisted that the child go to school, the state also had to insist that the teacher in whose hands the child would be placed possessed at least a minimal level of competence. State "certification" of teachers was a political and ethical necessity, not a power play run by ambitious normal-school professors. But it operated, inevitably, to strengthen the hand of those whose work was the training of future teachers.

Teaching is not the only field in which practitioners require a state license: doctors, lawyers, architects, barbers, accountants and others must also meet certain minimum conditions before they can go to work. But the state is more intimately involved with teachers than it is with any other group of licensees. By and large, in other fields, state governments have been willing to delegate to professional bodies the authority to award and withdraw licenses, subject to judicial review. The certification of teachers, however, remains a governmental function; indeed, as Myron Lieberman points out in his book *Education as a Profession*, most states insist that the members of the board which passes on teacher qualifications must not be teachers.

Perhaps for this reason, it has been extraordinarily difficult to set logical standards of competence or training for qualification as a teacher. "Many standards which applicants must meet," William Frederick of the Council of State Governments told a meeting of the Council on Co-operation in Teacher Education, "have little apparent relationship to the ability to practice." Generally speaking, state departments of education make no effort to determine the competence of applicants for teacher certificates. Instead, they prescribe in general or detailed terms the "courses" which a prospective

teacher must take before licensing, and they award their certificates entirely on a transcript of grades and the recommendation of the school at which the candidate took the required "courses." Other licensing bodies have developed examinations to test asserted competence; departments of education have not. It is fair to say that teachers, who insist on the importance of examinations for their students, have been unwilling to submit their claims of professional competence to an examination procedure in order to secure their certificates. Many larger cities, however, among them New York, hire and promote personnel on the basis of competitive examinations.

Usually, external examinations produce an undesirable rigidity in curriculum and are therefore to be avoided. Where a requirement of "course credits" is substituted for examinations, however, an even more undesirable artificiality may be introduced. "Let us now be very honest with ourselves," said Stephen Freeman of Middlebury College to the Council on Co-operation in Teacher Education, "and admit that certification on the basis of a prescribed number of credits, semester or quarter-hours, of exposure to a subject in college may be next to meaningless. Time spent sitting in a class, or even the feat of passing a final examination in a course does not necessarily indicate that the student is ready to interpret this information to others. . . . It is impossible to raise standards simply by increasing the number of credit hours required for a certificate. Too often, the thirty postgraduate hours that are increasingly required are so much wasted motion, as far as improving the quality of the instruction is concerned."

Most students of the subject would agree that existing certification laws work to restrict entry to teaching with-

The idea of a special education for teachers predates by some generations the idea of university education for any large fraction of the community. The problem confronting Horace Mann in the 1830's and Francis Parker in the 1890's was that of the elementary-school teacher who had no more than an elementary education herself. Moreover, once the Lancasterian system had been discredited, there was no way to set up a true apprenticeship scheme in teaching. Though principals might supervise her work in varying degrees, the new teacher essentially had to begin with the full classroom responsibilities of the experienced journeyman; unlike the lawyer or the accountant or the carpenter, the teacher could not learn her job by working under the direct and steady supervision of a practitioner. Normal schools, therefore, were established to improve the teacher's general education and to substitute special training for apprenticeship. Essentially, they gave secondary and remedial-elementary rather than university education.

These conditions persisted well into this century. When Paul Mort of Teachers College was graduated from eighth grade in 1907 he received a diploma ("largest diploma I ever got, with the fanciest handwriting") specifically entitling him to entry to the state university at Lansing, Michigan, for teacher training. In France, even today, a large proportion of elementary-school teachers (or *instituteurs*) never see the inside of a *lycée*. They go from elementary school to a *cours complémentaire* and thence to an *école normale* from which they emerge, at eighteen or nineteen with a special *Baccalauréat* which carries an official national government guarantee of a teaching job. In Britain, the teaching community is now recruited almost exclusively from the ranks of those who are chosen for

grammar schools, and the selection system for grammar-school entrance (to give the Devil his due) has probably been responsible for the striking rise in intelligence of the average British elementary-school teacher since the war. But future elementary teachers still go from a grammar school to a teacher-training college, and they go, typically, at age sixteen, without the experience of the sixth form. Until 1960 these colleges offered only a two-year program, so that the elementary teacher emerged from training just as her more fortunate fellows were entering a university.

Secondary-school teachers, on the other hand, were traditionally college graduates, in all countries. Normal schools and teachers colleges were not regarded as equipped to train people who would be dealing with the more developed content of secondary education. At the same time, most authorities held that anyone who had mastered an academic discipline on the college level was automatically equipped to teach it on the secondary level, and required no special training in education. Even today, in Britain, any university graduate is entitled to teach, though he may not teach a second year unless his work has been approved by the principal of his school and the local representative of the corps of Her Majesty's Inspectors. Nevertheless—significantly—nearly all better British secondary schools, private or state-supported, when they have to hire inexperienced personnel, give priority to candidates who have taken an additional year of teacher training after receiving their degree (a "fourth year" in the British system, where the university program is only three years long).

Compulsory education forced a semblance of order onto the chaos of teacher training in the United States.

credit hours in education to qualify for his job. Cornog, still a trifle naïve, asked the Committee, "Don't you give me any credit for twelve years of running a school in Philadelphia? The answer came back: "No."

Cornog carried the message to his Board, which was annoyed but not troubled, taking the position that the prestige of New Trier was higher than the prestige of the North Central Association. The Association complained to the Illinois Department of Education, which made its own investigation, and under pressure from both directions compromised with a pronouncement that Cornog lacked *eight* credit hours in education. "They counted as education courses some of the work I'd done at college," Cornog remembers. "I never found out why." With this finding of fact, the Department notified New Trier that unless its head took eight credit hours of education courses, the school would lose state accreditation. The Board was now incensed at the proceedings, but loss of accreditation would deprive New Trier of the right to send its graduates to the University of Illinois without an entrance examination, and some of the New Trier students who wish to go to the University of Illinois probably could not pass an entrance examination.

Cornog offered to resign. The University of Chicago had asked him to consider a professorship of education, and while he liked the New Trier job he felt it would be simpler for everyone if he moved on.

The New Trier Board would not hear of a resignation. "They thought I showed promise despite my lack of training," Cornog says. Not without a certain bitterness, Cornog took the only possible path out of what looked like an impasse which might damage the students at his school. He went voluntarily to the University of Chicago, where he was sought after for a professorship of educational administration, and enrolled in two courses in educational administration. As he finished moving down the registration line the first day, the girl at the last table noted from his application blank that he held a Ph.D. "Is your doctorate in education?" she asked.

"No," said Cornog.

"That's too bad," the girl said. "If it was in education, you could take these courses without charge."

"If my doctorate was in education," said Cornog rather sweetly (a good principal learns quickly to control his temper), "I don't think I'd be taking these courses at all."

The girl said, "Oh."

out necessarily restricting it to competent personnel. Attention is commonly called to the scandal of 100,000 or so "substitutes" in the schools—teachers who have not won certificates but have been given teaching jobs because there are not enough licensed teachers to go around. It is an even worse scandal that many of these "substitutes" have been teaching for five years or even longer, to the complete satisfaction of their superiors, but must continue to bear the stigma of an inferior label (and to receive an inferior salary) simply because they have not taken required "courses." Any system which refuses to accept experience or proved ability as criteria is demonstrably unreasonable and unjust.

Examples of stupidity in the application of arbitrary certification laws can be found in almost any school system, but perhaps the most striking of all is the case of William Cornog, superintendent of New Trier High School. A product of Philadelphia's selective Central High School thirty-odd years ago ("Talk about European schools—I had eleven marks on my card in the 1920's"), Cornog went on to a Ph.D. in English and medieval Latin and a teaching job at Northwestern University. He remained, however, a faithful and interested alumnus of Central High; and one day in 1943, the Philadelphia school system came to him and asked him if he would resign his professorship at Northwestern to take over as principal at Central High. "I was as innocent as a babe about certification," Cornog recalls; he did not even look into the question of the "course credits" he might need to qualify as a principal. Eventually he had to take summer courses in visual education and American history to qualify for his certificate.

Cornog was principal of Central High for twelve years, during the course

of which he picked up a nationwide reputation among working educators for intelligence, judgment and administrative ability. When New Trier found itself in need of a new top man, the board went to Cornog. By now his original innocence had been corrupted, and he was sure he couldn't qualify—each state licenses independently, and the Illinois Department of Education is one of the most insistent in the nation on "course credit" requirements for teaching. He was told, in effect, that New Trier Township could take care of such matters; and, indeed, on representations from the New Trier Board, the state granted him a certificate. Cornog took the job, which is perhaps the most attractive position in American education—a very large secondary school in a wealthy community which cares about education, paying a superintendent's salary for the more interesting work of actually running a school.

Cornog's early months at New Trier were untroubled, until the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges came around in the shape of its Illinois Committee. The Association, an unofficial body of educators, "recognizes" schools on the basis of their staff, physical plant, program and so forth, and can withdraw its recognition at any time. On the whole, this association and its peers in the other regions have undoubtedly been a force in pushing schools to higher standards of teaching as well as facilities; but like most professional bodies these organizations suffer moments of doctrinaire paralysis. A particularly severe seizure crippled the committee which investigated New Trier. Despite the manifest excellence of the school, the North Central Association placed New Trier on its "warning list" and threatened to withdraw recognition, on the grounds that the head of the school lacked eighteen

Social Control and the Two Norms

Every society must cope with the problem of maintaining loyalty to its social system, and every society does so in part through norms and values, some of which vary by class position and some of which are relatively uniform through the social strata. Norms and values prevalent within each class must direct behavior into channels that support the total system, while the values that transcend strata must support the general class differential. The way in which upward mobility takes place determines in part the kinds of norms and values that will serve the indicated purposes of social control in each class and throughout the society.

The most conspicuous control problem is that of ensuring loyalty in the disadvantaged classes toward a system under which they receive less than a proportional share of society's goods. Under a system of contest mobility, this is accomplished by a combination of future orientation, the universal norm of ambition, and a general sense of fellow-feeling with the elite. Every individual is encouraged to think of himself as competing for an elite position, so that in preparation he cultivates loyalty to the system and conventional attitudes. It is essential that this future orientation be kept alive by delaying any sense of final irreparable failure to reach elite position until attitudes are well established. Likewise, by thinking of himself in the successful future, the elite aspirant forms considerable identification with the elite, and any evidence that they are just ordinary human beings like himself helps to reinforce this identification as well as to keep alive the conviction that he himself may someday succeed in like manner. To forestall rebellion among the disadvantaged majority, then, a contest system must avoid any abso-

lute points of selection for mobility and immobility and must delay clear recognition of the realities of the situation until the individual is too committed to the system to change radically. The future orientation cannot, of course, be inculcated successfully in all members of lower strata, but sufficient training to a norm of ambition tends to leave the unambitious as individual deviants and forestalls their forming a genuine subcultural group able to offer collective threat to the established system. Where this kind of control system operates rather effectively, it is notable that such organized or gang deviancy as does develop is more likely to take the form of an attack upon the conventional or moral order rather than on the class system itself. Thus, the United States has its "beatniks," who repudiate ambition and worldly values altogether, and its delinquent and criminal gangs, who try to evade the limitations imposed by conventional means,¹ but very little in the way of active revolutionaries who challenge the class system itself.

The system of sponsorship makes the foregoing control system inappropriate, since the elite recruits are chosen from above. The principal threat to the system would lie in the existence of a strong group who sought to take elite positions themselves. Control under this system is by training the masses to regard themselves as relatively incompetent to manage society, by restricting access to the skills and manners of the elite, and by cultivating belief in the superior competence of the elite. The earlier that selection of the elite recruits can be made, the sooner the masses can be taught to accept their inferiority and to make "realistic"

¹ Cf., Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1955).

stratification

three

Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System

RALPH H. TURNER

Schools help people to "get ahead," an almost sacred mission for most Americans. Schools teach too, presumably, but they are also the hurdles that the ambitious must clear in order to achieve, make money, get good jobs, win status, and become "upwardly mobile." Not long ago the ambitious self-educated man had a fair chance of getting ahead. Now he had better have a college education, preferably at a prestige college.

Schools do more than select top elites. They stratify students into many "quality" layers based on their estimates of student potential. The very shaky "scientific" means used by the schools in classifying students into tracks, where they often remain throughout their lives, have been strongly questioned in recent years. IQ, aptitude, ability, achievement tests—indeed almost all "standards" of performance, certification, and selection—have been disrupted, for these are the devices of stratification. These devices, it is charged, classify students more nearly according to their parents' status than to the students' potential.

Opportunities to get ahead through education are by no means closed in American schools. In the continuum from open to closed systems, the American school is perhaps as open and "democratic" as any. It has been noted, for example, that "sponsored mobility" is more characteristic of the English and European systems, and "contest mobility" of the American. In our system, getting ahead tends to be a life-long contest for position; in other systems there is less contest, matters are settled for students at an early age, and new elite members are chosen by old elites. Turner discusses two models, sponsored and contest mobility, and their implications for social control, formal education, and personality development.

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elite leaves considerable leeway for unscrupulous success. In sponsored mobility, the unpromising recruit reflects unfavorably on the judgment of his sponsors and threatens the myth of elite omniscience. Consequently, he may be tolerated, and others may "cover up" for his deficiencies in order to protect the unified front of the elite to the outer world.

Certain of the general values and norms of any society incorporate emulation of elite values by the masses. Under sponsored mobility, a good deal of the protective attitudes and interest in classical subjects percolates to the masses. Under contest mobility, however, there is not the same apparent homogeneity of moral, aesthetic, and intellectual values to be emulated, so that the conspicuous attribute of the elite is their superior level of material consumption. Consequently, emulation follows this course. There is neither effective incentive nor punishment for the elite individual who fails to interest himself in promoting the arts or literary excellence, or who continues to maintain the vulgar manners and mode of speech of his class origin. The elite have relatively less power and the masses relatively more power to punish or reward a man for his adoption or disregard of any special elite culture. The extreme importance of accent and of grammatical excellence to the attainment of high status in England, as contrasted with the "twangs" and "drawls" and grammatical ineptitude among American elites, is the most striking example of this difference. The strength of the class system is therefore not geared into support of the *quality* of aesthetic, literary, and intellectual activities in a contest system. Only those well versed in such activities are qualified to distinguish authentic products from cheap imitations. Unless those who claim

superiority in these areas are forced to submit their credentials to the elite for evaluation, poor quality will often be honored equally with high quality, and class prestige will not serve to maintain an effective norm of high quality.

The foregoing is not to imply that there will be no groups in such a society devoted to protection and fostering of high standards in art, music, literature, and intellectual pursuits, but that such standards will lack the support of the class system, which is frequently found when sponsored mobility prevails. The selection, by official welcoming committees in California, of a torch singer to entertain a visiting king and queen and "can can" dancers to entertain Mr. Khrushchev illustrates how little American elites suppose that high prestige and popular taste cannot go together.

Formal Education under Contest and Sponsorship

Returning to our conception of an organizing ideal form, we assume that to the extent to which one such norm of upward mobility is prevalent in a society there will be a constant strain to shape the educational system into conformity with that norm. These strains will operate in two fashions: directly, through blinding people to alternatives and through coloring their judgments of what are successful and unsuccessful solutions to recurring educational problems; and indirectly, through the functional interrelationships between school systems and other aspects of the class structure, systems of social control, and many features of the social structure neglected in this paper.

The most obvious application of the distinction between sponsored and contest mobility norms is to afford a partial explanation for the different poli-

rather than phantasy plans. Early selection prevents raising the hopes of large numbers of people who might otherwise become the discontented leaders of a class challenging the sovereignty of the established elite. If we assume that the difference in competence between masses and elite is seldom so great as to support the usual differences in advantage accruing to each,² then the differences must be artificially augmented by discouraging acquisition of elite skills by the masses. Likewise, a sense of mystery about the elite is a common device for supporting in the masses an illusion of a much greater hiatus of competence than in fact exists.

While the elite are unlikely to reject a system that benefits them, they must still be restrained from taking such advantage of their favorable situation as to jeopardize the entire elite. Under the sponsorship system, the elite recruits, who are selected early, freed from the strain of competitive struggle, and kept under close elite supervision, may be thoroughly indoctrinated in elite culture. A norm of paternalism toward inferiors may be inculcated; a heightened sensitivity of the good opinions of fellow-elite and elite recruits may be cultivated; and the appreciation of the more complex forms of aesthetic, literary, intellectual, and sporting activities may be taught. A norm of courtesy and altruism can well be maintained under sponsorship, since the elite recruits are not required to compete for their standing and since the elite may deny high standing to any who strive for position by unseemly methods. The system of sponsorship provides an almost perfect setting for

the development of an elite culture characterized by a sense of responsibility for inferiors and for preservation of the "finer things" of life.

Elite control under the contest system is more difficult since there is no controlled induction and apprenticeship. The principal control seems to lie in the insecurity of elite position. In a sense, there is no final arrival under contest mobility, since each person may be displaced by newcomers throughout his life. The limited control of high standing from above prevents the clear delimitation of levels in the class system, so that success itself becomes relative. Rather than constituting primarily an accomplishment, each success serves to qualify the participant for competition at the next higher level.³ The restraints upon the behavior of a person of high standing, therefore, are principally those applicable to a contestant who must not risk having the other contestants "gang up" on him, and who must pay some attention to the masses, who are frequently in a position to impose penalties upon him. However, any special norm of paternalism is hard to establish, since there is no dependable procedure for examining the means by which a man achieves elite credentials. While mass esteem is an effective brake upon overexploitation of position, it does not so much reward scrupulously ethical and altruistic behavior as it rewards evidence of fellow-feeling with the masses.

Under both systems, unscrupulous or disreputable persons may become or remain members of the elite, but for different reasons. In contest mobility, popular tolerance of a little "craft" in the successful combined with the fact that the newcomer does not have to undergo the close scrutiny of the old

² D. V. Glass, ed., *Social Mobility in Britain* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1954), pp. 144-45, reports studies showing only small variations in intelligence between occupational levels.

³ Geoffrey Gorer, *The American People* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1948), pp. 172-87.

student ambitions in the United States and England. Researches in the United States consistently show that the general level of occupational aspiration reported by high-school students is quite unrealistic in relation to the actual distribution of job opportunities. Comparative study in England shows much less in the way of "phantasy" aspiration, and, specifically, shows a reduction in aspiration among those not selected following the "eleven-plus" examination.⁷ One of the by-products of the sponsorship system is the fact that students from middle-class families whose parents cannot afford to send them to a private school suffer severe personal adjustment problems when they are assigned to secondary modern schools on the basis of this selection.⁸

While this well-known difference between the early British sorting of students into grammar and modern schools and the American comprehensive high school and junior college is the clearest application of the distinction under discussion, the organizing norms penetrate more deeply into the school systems than is initially apparent. The most telling observation regarding the direct normative operation of these principles would be evidence to support the author's impression that major critics within each country do not usually transcend the logic of their respective mobility norms in their

criticisms. Thus, British critics debate the best method for getting people sorted according to ability, without proposing that elite station should be opened to whoever can take it. Although fear of "sputnik" in the United States introduced a flurry of sponsored-mobility thinking, the long-standing concern of school critics has been the failure to motivate students adequately. Preoccupation with motivation appears to be an intellectual application of the folk idea that people should win their station in society by personal *enterprise*.

The functional operation of a strain toward consistency with the organizing norm of upward mobility may be illustrated by reference to several other features of the school systems in the two countries. First, the value placed upon education itself is different under the two organizing norms. Under sponsored mobility, schooling is valued for its cultivation of elite culture and those forms of schooling directed toward such cultivation are more highly valued than those which are not. Education of the non-elite is difficult to justify clearly and tends to be half-hearted, while the maximum educational resources are concentrated on "those who can benefit most from them." In practice, the latter means those who can learn the elite culture. The secondary modern schools in England have regularly suffered from less adequate financial provision and a lower teacher-student ratio, from less-well-trained teachers, and from a general lack of prestige, in comparison with the grammar schools.⁹

⁷ Mary D. Wilson documents the reduction in aspiration characterizing students in British Secondary Modern schools and points out the contrast with American studies revealing much more "unrealistic" aspiration. Cf., "The Vocational Preferences of Secondary Modern School-children," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXIII (1953), 97-113. Cf., also, R. H. Turner, "The Changing Ideology of Success," *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology*, 1956, V, esp. p. 37.

⁸ Pointed out by Hilde Himmelweit in private communication.

⁹ Less adequate financial provision and a lower teacher-student ratio are mentioned as obstacles to parity of secondary modern schools with grammar schools in *Times Educational Supplement*, Feb. 22, 1957, p. 241. On difficulties in achieving prestige comparable with grammar schools, see G. Baron, "Secondary Education in Britain: Some

cies of student selection in the English and American secondary schools. Although American high-school students take different courses of study and sometimes even attend specialized high schools, a major preoccupation has been to avoid any sharp social separation between the superior and inferior students and to keep the channels of movement between courses of study as open as possible. Even recent criticisms of the way in which superior students may be thereby held back in their development usually are qualified by insistence that these students must not, however, be withdrawn from the mainstream of student life.⁴ Any such segregation offends the sense of fairness implicit in the contest norm and also arouses the fear that the elite and future elite will lose their sense of fellow-feeling with the masses. Perhaps the most important point, however, is that schooling is presented as an opportunity, and the principal burden of making use of the opportunity depends on the student's own initiative and enterprise.

The English system has undergone a succession of liberalizing changes during this century, but all of them have remained within the pattern of attempting early in the educational program to sort out the promising from the unpromising, so that the former may be segregated and given a special form of training to fit them for higher standing in their adult years. Under the Education Act of 1944, a minority of students have been selected each year by means of a battery of examinations popularly known as "eleven plus," supplemented to varying degrees by grade-school record and personal interview impressions, for admission to grammar schools.⁵ The remaining stu-

dents attend secondary modern or technical schools, in which the opportunities to prepare for college or train for the better occupations are minimal. The grammar schools supply what, by comparative standards, is a high quality of college preparatory education. Such a scheme embodies well the logic of sponsorship, with early selection of those destined for middle-class and better occupations, and specialized training to suit each group for the class in which they are destined to hold membership. The plan facilitates considerable mobility, and recent research reveals surprisingly little bias against the child from a manual-laboring family in the selection for grammar school, when related to measured intelligence.⁶ It is altogether possible that adequate comparative research would show a closer correlation of school success with measured intelligence and a lesser correlation between school success and family background in England than in the United States. While selection of superior students for mobility opportunity is probably more efficient under such a system, the obstacles to a person not so selected "making the grade" on the basis of his own initiative or enterprise are probably correspondingly greater.

That the contrasting effects of the two systems accord with the social-control pattern under the two mobility norms is indicated by research into

plus" selection system are fully reviewed in a recent report by a committee of the British Psychological Society and a report of extensive research into the adequacy of selection methods. Cf., P. E. Vernon, ed., *Secondary School Selection: A British Psychological Inquiry* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1957); and Alfred Yates and D. A. Pidgeon, *Admission to Grammar Schools* (London: Newnes Educational Publishing Co., 1957).

⁶ J. E. Floud, A. H. Halsey, and F. M. Martin, *Social Class and Economic Opportunity* (London: William Heinemann, Limited, 1956).

⁴ *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1959, Part I, p. 24.

⁵ The nature and operation of the "eleven

and 51 per cent drop-out rates are probably underestimates, because transfers from two-year junior colleges swell the number of degrees without being included in first-time enrollments. In England, a study following up the careers of individual students, found that in University College, London, 81.9 per cent of entering students, between 1948 and 1951, eventually graduated with a degree. A similar study a few years earlier at the University of Liverpool revealed a figure of 86.9 per cent.¹⁴ Under contest mobility, the object is to train as many as possible to the skills necessary for elite status so as to give everyone a chance and to maintain competition at the highest pitch. Under sponsored mobility, the object is to train in elite culture only those for whom the presumption is that they will enter the elite, lest there be a dangerous number of "angry young men" who have elite skills without elite station.

Third, systems of mobility precipitate different emphases regarding educational content. Induction into elite culture under sponsored mobility makes for emphasis on school *esprit de corps*, which can be employed to cultivate norms of intraclass loyalty and elite tastes and manners. Likewise, formal schooling built about highly specialized study in fields with entirely intellectual or aesthetic concern and no "practical" value serves the purpose of elite culture. Under contest mobility in the United States, in spite of faculty endorsement of "liberal education," schooling tends to be measured for its practical benefits and to become, beyond the elementary level, chiefly vocational. Education does not so much provide what is good in itself as it pro-

vides skills necessary to compete for the real prizes of life, and of these vocational skills are the most important.

An application of these points can be seen in the different national attitudes toward students being gainfully employed while in university. More students in the United States than in Britain have part-time employments, and in the United States relatively fewer of the students receive subsidies toward subsistence and living expenses. The most generous programs of state aid in the United States, apart from those applying to veterans and other special groups, do not normally cover expenses other than tuition and institutional fees. British maintenance grants are designed to cover full living expenses, taking into account parents' ability to pay.¹⁵ Under sponsored mobility, gainful employment serves no apprentice or testing function, and is thought merely to prevent the student from gaining the full benefit of his schooling. L. J. Parry speaks of the general opposition to students working and asserts that English university authorities almost unanimously hold that "... if a person must work for financial reasons, he should never spend more than four weeks on such work during the whole year."¹⁶

Under contest mobility, success in school work is not a sufficient test of practical merit, but must be supplemented by a test in the world of practical affairs. Thus, in didactic folk tales, the professional engineer will also prove himself a superior mechanic, the business tycoon, a superior behind-the-counter salesman. Consequently, by

¹⁵ See C. A. Quattlebaum, *Federal Aid to Students for Higher Education* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956); and "Grants to Students: University and Training Colleges," *The Times Educational Supplement*, May 6, 1955, p. 446.

¹⁶ "Students' Expenses," *The Times Educational Supplement*, May 6, 1955, 447.

¹⁴ Nicolas Malleon, "Student Performance at University College, London 1948-51," *Universities Quarterly*, XII (May, 1958), 288-319.

Under contest mobility in the United States, education is valued as a means of getting ahead, but the contents of education are not highly valued in their own right. There is even a suspicion of the educated man as one who may have got ahead without really earning his position. Over a century ago, De Tocqueville had commented on the absence in the United States of an hereditary class "by which the labors of the intellect are held in honor." In consequence he remarked that, "A middling standard is fixed in America for human knowledge."¹⁰ In spite of recent criticisms of lax standards in American schools, it is in keeping with the general mobility pattern that a Gallup Poll in April, 1958, showed that school principals were much more likely to make such criticisms than parents. While 90 per cent of principals thought that "... our schools today demand too little work from the students," only 51 per cent of parents thought so, with 33 per cent saying the work was about right, and 6 per cent that schools demanded too much work.¹¹

Second, the logic of preparation for a contest prevails in United States schools, with emphasis on keeping everyone in the running until the final stages. In primary and secondary schools, the assumption tends to be made that those who are learning satisfactorily need little special attention,

Present-Day Trends," *Teachers College Record*, LVII (1956), 211-21; and O. Banks, *Party and Prestige in English Secondary Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955). Cf. also P. E. Vernon, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22.

¹⁰ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1945), I, 52.

¹¹ An earlier Gallup Poll had disclosed that 62 per cent of parents opposed stiffened college entrance requirements, while only 27 per cent favored them. *Time*, April 14, 1958, p. 45.

while the less successful require help to be sure that they remain in the contest and may compete for the final stakes. As recently as December, 1958, a nationwide Gallup Poll gave evidence that this attitude had not been radically altered by the international situation. When asked whether teachers should devote extra time to the bright students, 26 per cent said "yes," and 67 per cent answered "no." But the responses changed to 86 per cent "yes," and only 9 per cent "no," when the question was asked concerning the "slow students."¹²

In western states, the junior college offers many students "a second chance" to qualify for university, and all state universities have some provision for substandard high-school students to earn admission.

The university itself is run like the true contest, standards being set competitively, students being forced to pass a series of trials each semester, and only a minority of the entrants achieving the prize of graduation. Such a pattern contrasts sharply with the English system in which selection is supposed to have been relatively complete before entry into university, and students may be subject to no testing whatsoever for the first year or more of university study. Although university completion rates have not been estimated in either country, some figures are indicative. The ratio of bachelor's and first-professional degrees in American institutions of higher learning, in 1957-58, to the number of first-time degree-credit enrollments in the fall, four years earlier, was reported to be .610 for men and .488 for women.¹³ The indicated 39

¹² *Los Angeles Times*, December 17, 1958, Part I, p. 16.

¹³ U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, *Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Education Institutions, 1957-58* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 3.

which to induct selected children from lower levels into elite status. By means of a scholarship program, promising members of lesser classes could be chosen early for recruitment into the top classes. The English "public" schools have, in fact, incorporated into their charters provisions to insure that a few boys from lesser classes would enter each year. Getting one's child into a "public" school, or even into one of the lesser private schools, assumes an importance in England relatively unknown in the United States. If the children cannot win scholarships the parents often make extreme financial sacrifices in order to pay the cost of this relatively exclusive education.²⁰

Just how much of a place private secondary schools have played in mobility in either country is difficult to determine exactly, since American information on private or tax-supported secondary school attendance, and English studies showing the advantage of "public" school attendance generally fail to separate the mobile from the non-mobile in this respect. However, it has been observed that during the nineteenth century the English "public" schools were largely used by the new-rich manufacturing classes to enable their sons to achieve an unqualified elite state.²¹ In one sense, the rise of the manufacturing classes through free enterprise represents a genuine contest mobility that threatened to destroy the traditional sponsorship system. But by accepting the "public" schools in this fashion they bowed to the legitimacy of the traditional system—an implicit ac-

knowledge that upward mobility was not complete until the final sponsored induction had been carried out. Denis Brogan speaks of the nineteenth-century public schools' task as "the job of marrying the old English social order to the new."²²

It is of interest to note the parallel between the tax-supported grammar schools and the "public" schools in England. The former have been in important respects patterned after the latter, adopting the latter's view of mobility but making it a much larger part of their total function. In a general way, the grammar schools are the vehicle for sponsored mobility throughout the middle ranges of the class system, modelled after the pattern of the "public" schools, which are the agencies for sponsored mobility into the elite.

Effects of Mobility on Personality

Passing note should be taken of the importance of the distinction between sponsored and contest mobility for the supposed personality-shaping effects of the upward mobility experience. Not a great deal is yet known about the distinctiveness of the mobility personality nor about the specific features of importance in the mobility experience.²³ However, three facets of the mobility experience are most frequently stressed in discussions of the problem. First is the stress or tension involved in striving higher than others under more difficult conditions than they. Second is the complication of interpersonal relations introduced by the necessity to abandon lower-level friends in favor of an uncertain acceptance

²⁰ For a popular account of the place of "public" schools in the English educational system, see Denis Brogan, *The English People* (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1943), pp. 18-56.

²¹ A. H. Halsey of Birmingham University called my attention to the importance of this fact.

²² *Op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

²³ Cf. Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959).

acquisition of a value system appropriate to class of aspiration than should be found under sponsored mobility, the ramifications of these differences depend upon further understanding of

the workings of the American class system. A search for personality-forming experiences specific to a sponsorship system has yet to be made.

Brown vs. the Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas The U.S. Supreme Court Decision on School Desegregation

U.S. SUPREME COURT

The American public school system—atomized, estranged from the main current of public affairs, insensitive to national political realities and the deepening riddle of the American dilemma—was struck in 1954 by an event of profound social significance, the U.S. Supreme Court Decision on school desegregation. The Court, relatively immune to all virulent defenses of the status quo, announced that schools could not be “separate but equal” and that segregation was a denial of equal protection of the law. In a second decision, the Court ordered that defendants make a “prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance” with desegregation.

[I]

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN DELIVERED THE OPINION OF THE COURT.

These cases come to us from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion.¹

¹ In the Kansas case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of elementary school age residing in Topeka. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the District of Kansas to enjoin enforcement of a Kansas statute which permits, but does not require, cities of more than 15,000 population to maintain separate school facilities for Negro and white students. Pursuant to that authority, the Topeka Board of Education elected to establish segregated elementary schools. Other public schools in the community, however, are operated on a nonsegregated basis. The three-judge District

Court found that segregation in public education has a detrimental effect upon Negro children, but denied relief on the ground that the Negro and white schools were substantially equal with respect to buildings, transportation, curricula, and educational qualifications of teachers.

In the South Carolina case, *Briggs v. Elliott*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of both elementary and high school age residing in Clarendon County. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. The three-judge District Court denied the requested relief. The court found that the Negro schools were inferior to the white schools and ordered the defendants to begin immediately to equalize the facilities. But the court sustained the validity of the contested provisions and denied the plaintiffs admission to the white schools during the equalization program. This Court vacated the District Court's judgment and remanded the case for the purpose of obtaining the court's

into higher-level circles. Third is the problem of working out an adequate personal value system in the face of movement between classes having somewhat variant or even contradictory value systems.²⁴ The impact of each of these three facets of mobility experience should be different depending upon whether the pattern is that of the contest or of sponsorship.

Under the sponsorship system, recruits to mobility are selected early, segregated from their class peers, grouped with other recruits and with youth from the class to which they are moving, and are trained specifically for the class that they are to enter. Since the selection is made early, the mobility experience should be relatively free from the strain that comes with the series of elimination tests and long-extended uncertainty of success. The school segregation and the integrated school community of the "public" school or grammar school should clarify the mobile person's social ties. It is to be noted that A. N. Oppenheim failed to discover clique formation along lines of social class in a sociometric study of a number of grammar schools.²⁵ The problem of a system of values should be well solved when the elite recruit is taken from his

parents and peers to be placed in a boarding school, although it may be less well clarified for the grammar-school boy who returns each evening to his working-class family. Undoubtedly, this latter limitation has something to do with the observed failure of the working-class boys to continue through the last years of grammar school and into the universities.²⁶ In general, then, the crucial factors that have been stressed as affecting personality formation among the upwardly mobile are rather specific to the contest system of mobility, such as is found in the United States, or the incompletely functioning sponsorship system.

It is often taken for granted that there is convincing evidence to show that the mobility oriented student in American secondary schools suffers from the tendency for cliques to form along lines predetermined by family background. However, these tendencies are statistically quite moderate, leaving much room for individual exception. Furthermore, the mobility oriented students have not generally been examined separately to see whether they might in fact be incorporated into higher-level cliques in contrast to the general rule. Nor is it adequately demonstrated whether the purported working-class value system, which is at odds with middle-class values, is as pervasive and constraining throughout the working class as it is conspicuous in delinquent gangs. Thus, while the model of contest mobility indicates that there should be more serious and continuing strain over the uncertainty of attaining mobility, more explicit and continued preoccupation with the problem of changing friendships to fit class positions, and more contradictory learning to inhibit the

²⁴ Cf. August B. Hollingshead and Fredrick C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958); W. Lloyd Warner and James Abegglen, *Big Business Leaders in America* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1955); Warner et al., *Who Shall be Educated?* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1944).

²⁵ "Social Status and Clique Formation among Grammar School Boys," *British Journal of Sociology*, VI (1955), 288-345. Oppenheim's findings may be compared with A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949), pp. 204-42. Cf. also Joseph Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1957), pp. 129-38.

²⁶ J. E. Floud et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff.

Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time.³ In the South, the movement

³ For a general study of the development of public education prior to the Amendment, see Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (1953), Pts. I, II; Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (1934 ed), chs II-XII. School practices current at the time of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment are described in Butts and Cremin, *supra*, at 269-275; Cubberley, *supra*, at 288-339, 408-431; Knight, *Public Education in the South* (1922), chs VIII, IX. See also H Ex Doc No. 315, 41st Cong, 2d Sess (1871). Although the demand for free public schools followed substantially the same pattern in both the North and the South, the development in the South did not begin to gain momentum until about 1850, some twenty years after that in the North. The reasons for the somewhat slower development in the South (e.g., the rural character of the South and the different regional attitudes toward state assistance) are well explained in Cubberley, *supra*, at 408-423. In the country as a whole, but particularly in the South, the War virtually stopped all progress in public education. *Id.*, at 427-428.

toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent, and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public school education at the time of the Amendment had advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing all state-imposed discriminations against the Negro race.⁴ The doctrine of "sepa-

The low status of Negro education in all sections of the country, both before and immediately after the War, is described in Beale, *A History of Freedom of Teaching in American Schools* (1941), 112-132, 175-195. Compulsory school attendance laws were not generally adopted until after the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, and it was not until 1918 that such laws were in force in all the states. Cubberley, *supra*, at 563-565.

⁴ *Slaughter-House Cases* (1873); *Strauder v. West Virginia* (1880):

"It ordains that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without

views on a report filed by the defendants concerning the progress made in the equalization program. On remand, the District Court found that substantial equality had been achieved except for buildings and that the defendants were proceeding to rectify this inequality as well.

In the Virginia case, *Davis v. County School Board*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of high school age residing in Prince Edward County. They brought this action in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. The three-judge District Court denied the requested relief. The court found the Negro school inferior in physical plant, curricula, and transportation, and ordered the defendants forthwith to provide substantially equal curricula and transportation and to "proceed with all reasonable diligence and dispatch to remove" the inequality in physical plant. But, as in the South Carolina case, the court sustained the validity of the contested provisions and denied the plaintiffs admission to the white schools during the equalization program.

In the Delaware case, *Gebhart v. Belton*, the plaintiffs are Negro children of both elementary and high school age residing in New Castle County. They brought this action in the Delaware Court of Chancery to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code which require the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. The Chancellor gave judgment for the plaintiffs and ordered their immediate admission to schools previously attended only by white children, on the ground that the Negro schools were inferior with respect to teacher training, pupil-teacher ratio, extra-curricular activities, physical plant, and time and distance involved in travel. The Chancellor also found that segregation itself results in an inferior education for Negro children (see note 10, *infra*), but did not rest his decision on that ground. The Chancellor's decree was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Delaware, which intimated, however, that the defendants might be able to obtain a modification of the decree after equalization of the Negro and white schools had been accomplished. The defendants, contending only that the Delaware courts had erred in ordering the immediate admission of the Negro plaintiffs to the white schools, applied to this Court for certiorari. The writ was granted.

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a non-segregated basis. In each instance, they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race. This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.²

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in

The plaintiffs, who were successful below, did not submit a cross-petition.

²The Attorney General of the United States participated both Terms as *amicus curiae*.

was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In *Sweatt v. Painter* (US) *supra*, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this Court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, *supra*,

the Court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: ". . . his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the *Kansas* case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

"Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system."⁸

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern au-

⁸ A similar finding was made in the Delaware case: "I conclude from the testimony that in our Delaware society, State-imposed segregation in education itself results in the Negro children, as a class, receiving educational opportunities which are substantially inferior to those available to white children otherwise similarly situated."

rate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (US) supra, involving not education but transportation.⁵ American courts have since labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this Court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education. In *Cumming v. County Board of Education* and *Gong Lum v. Rice* the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged.⁶ In more recent cases, all on

due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. What is this but declaring that the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the States, and, in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color? The words of the amendment, it is true, are prohibitory, but they contain a necessary implication of a positive immunity, or right, most valuable to the colored race—the right to exemption from unfriendly legislation against them distinctively as colored—exemption from legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy, and discriminations which are steps towards reducing them to the condition of a subject race."

⁵ The doctrine apparently originated in *Roberts v. Boston* (1850, Mass.), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a state constitutional guarantee of equality. Segregation in Boston public schools was eliminated in 1855. But elsewhere in the North segregation in public education has persisted in some communities until recent years. It is apparent that such segregation has long been a nationwide problem, not merely one of sectional concern.

⁶ In the *Cumming* Case, Negro taxpayers sought an injunction requiring the defendant school board to discontinue the operation of a high school for white children until the board resumed operation of a high school for Negro children. Similarly, in the *Gong Lum* Case, the plaintiff, a child of Chinese descent, contended only that state authorities had misapplied the doctrine by classifying him with

the graduate school level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*; *Sipuel v. University of Oklahoma*; *Sweatt v. Painter*; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*. In none of these cases was it necessary to reexamine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in *Sweatt v. Painter* (US) supra, the Court expressly reserved decision on the question whether *Plessy v. Ferguson* should be held inapplicable to public education.

In the instant cases, that question is directly presented. Here, unlike *Sweatt v. Painter*, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors.⁷ Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson*

Negro children and requiring him to attend a Negro school.

⁷ In the *Kansas* case, the court below found substantial equality as to all such factors. In the *South Carolina* case, the court below found that the defendants were proceeding "promptly and in good faith to comply with the court's decree." In the *Virginia* case, the court below noted that the equalization program was already "afoot and progressing"; since then, we have been advised, in the *Virginia* Attorney General's brief on reargument, that the program has now been completed. In the *Delaware* case, the court below similarly noted that the state's equalization program was well under way.

education is unconstitutional, are incorporated herein by reference. All provisions of federal, state, or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle. There remains for consideration the manner in which relief is to be accorded.

Because these cases arose under different local conditions and their disposition will involve a variety of local problems, we requested further argument on the question of relief. In view of the nationwide importance of the decision, we invited the Attorney General of the United States and the Attorneys General of all states requiring or permitting racial discrimination in public education to present their views on that question. The parties, the United States, and the States of Florida, North Carolina, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Maryland, and Texas filed briefs and participated in the oral argument.

These presentations were informative and helpful to the Court in its consideration of the complexities arising from the transition to a system of public education freed of racial discrimination. The presentations also demonstrated that substantial steps to eliminate racial discrimination in public schools have already been taken, not only in some of the communities in which these cases arose, but in some of the states appearing as amici curiae, and in other states as well. Substantial progress has been made in the District of Columbia and in the communities in Kansas and Delaware involved in this litigation. The defendants in the cases coming to us from South Carolina and Virginia are awaiting the decision of this Court concerning relief.

Full implementation of these constitutional principles may require solution of varied local school problems. School authorities have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assess-

ing, and solving these problems; courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles. Because of their proximity to local conditions and the possible need for further hearings, the courts which originally heard these cases can best perform this judicial appraisal. Accordingly, we believe it appropriate to remand the cases to those courts.

In fashioning and effectuating the decrees, the courts will be guided by equitable principles. Traditionally, equity has been characterized by a practical flexibility in shaping its remedies and by a facility for adjusting and reconciling public and private needs. These cases call for the exercise of these traditional attributes of equity power. At stake is the personal interest of the plaintiffs in admission to public schools as soon as practicable on a nondiscriminatory basis. To effectuate this interest may call for elimination of a variety of obstacles in making the transition to school systems operated in accordance with the constitutional principles set forth in our May 17, 1954, decision. Courts of equity may properly take into account the public interest in the elimination of such obstacles in a systematic and effective manner. But it should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them.

While giving weight to these public and private considerations, the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954, ruling. Once such a start has been made, the courts may find that additional time is necessary to carry out the ruling in an effective manner. The burden rests upon the defendants to

thority.⁹ Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question—the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be re-

stored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term.¹⁰ The Attorney General of the United States is again invited to participate. The Attorneys General of the states requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as amici curiae upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954.¹¹

[II]

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN DELIVERED THE OPINION OF THE COURT.

These cases were decided on May 17, 1954. The opinions of that date, declaring the fundamental principle that racial discrimination in public

¹⁰ "4. Assuming it is decided that segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment

"(a) would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of their choice, or

"(b) may this Court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions?

"5. On the assumption on which questions 4 (a) and (b) are based, and assuming further that this Court will exercise its equity powers to the end described in question 4 (b),

"(a) should this Court formulate detailed decrees in these cases;

"(b) if so, what specific issues should the decrees reach;

"(c) should this Court appoint a special master to hear evidence with a view to recommending specific terms for such decrees;

"(d) should this Court remand to the courts of first instance with directions to frame decrees in these cases, and if so what general directions should the decrees of this Court include and what procedures should the courts of first instance follow in arriving at the specific terms of more detailed decrees?"

¹¹ See Rule 42 Revised Rules of this Court (effective July 1, 1954).

⁹ K. B. Clark, *Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development* (Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1950); Witmer and Kotinsky, *Personality in the Making* (1952), ch. VI; Deutscher and Chein, "The Psychological Effects of Enforced Segregation: A Survey of Social Science Opinion," 26 *J. Psychol.*, 259 (1948); Chein, "What are the Psychological Effects of Segregation Under Conditions of Equal Facilities?" 3 *Int. J. Opinion and Attitude Res.*, 229 (1949); Brameld, *Educational Costs in Discrimination and National Welfare* (MacIver, ed., 1949), 44-48; Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (1949), 674-681. And see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (1944).

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 contains a section numbered 402, which went largely unnoticed at the time. This section instructs the Commissioner of Education to carry out a survey "concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities" by reason of race, religion or national origin, and to report to Congress and the President within two years. The Congressional intent in this section is somewhat unclear. But if, as is probable, the survey was initially intended as a means of finding areas of continued intentional discrimination, the intent later became less punitive-oriented and more future-oriented: i.e., to provide a basis for public policy, at the local, state, and national levels, which might overcome inequalities of educational opportunity.

In the two years that have intervened (but mostly in the second), a remarkably vast and comprehensive survey was conducted, focussing principally on the inequalities of educational opportunity experienced by five racial and ethnic minorities: Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, American Indians, and Oriental Americans. In the central and largest portion of the survey, nearly 600,000 children at grades 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12, in 4000 schools in all 50 states and the District of Columbia, were tested and questioned; 60,000 teachers in these schools were questioned and self-tested; and principals of these schools were also questioned about their schools. The tests and questionnaires (administered in the fall of 1965 by Educational Testing Service) raised a considerable controversy in public school circles and among some parents, with concern ranging from Federal encroachment on the local educational system to the spectre of invasion of privacy. Nevertheless, with a participation rate of about 70% of all the

schools sampled, the survey was conducted; and on July 1, 1966, Commissioner Howe presented a summary report of this survey. On July 31, the total report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, 737 pages, was made available (Government Printing Office, \$4.25).

The summary of the report has appeared to many who have read it to be curiously "flat," lacking in emphases and policy implications. Much of the same flatness can be found in the larger report. The seeming flatness probably derives from three sources: the research analyst's uneasiness in moving from description to implications; the government agency's uneasiness with survey findings that may have political repercussions; and, perhaps more important than either of these, the fact that the survey results do not lend themselves to the provision of simple answers. Nevertheless, the report is not so uncontroversial as it appears. And some of its findings, though cautiously presented, have sharp implications.

Perhaps the greatest virtue of this survey—though it has many faults—is that it did not take a simple or politically expedient view of educational opportunity. To have done so would have meant to measure (a) the objective characteristics of schools—number of books in the library, age of buildings, educational level of teachers, accreditation of the schools, and so on; and (b) the actual extent of racial segregation in the schools. The survey did look into these matters (and found less inequity in school facilities and resources, more in the extent of segregation, than is commonly supposed); but its principal focus of attention was not on what resources go into education, but on what product comes out. It did this in a relatively uncomplicated way, which is probably adequate

establish that such time is necessary in the public interest and is consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date. To that end, the courts may consider problems related to administration, arising from the physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, personnel, revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a nonracial basis, and revision of local laws and regulations which may be necessary in solving the foregoing problems. They will also consider the adequacy of any plans the defendants may propose to meet these problems and to effectuate a transition to a racially nondiscriminatory school system. During this period of transition, the courts will retain jurisdiction of these cases.

The judgments below, except that in the Delaware case, are accordingly reversed and the cases are remanded to the District Courts to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees consistent with this opinion as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to these cases. The judgment in the Delaware case—ordering the immediate admission of the plaintiffs to schools previously attended only by white children—is affirmed on the basis of the principles stated in our May 17, 1954, opinion, but the case is remanded to the Supreme Court of Delaware for such further proceedings as that Court may deem necessary in light of this opinion.

It is so ordered.

Equal Schools or Equal Students?

JAMES COLEMAN

The question of whether school opportunities are open equally to students from all races and social strata has been a matter of recurring concern to those few sociologists who have been interested in education. In the past decade the civil rights struggle has made equal opportunities an issue of central national concern. In response to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the largest and most intensive study of the nation's public schools ever made was undertaken by the U.S. Office of Education. The report of this study of equal educational opportunity aroused much discussion. At one extreme the report was used to buttress the view that neither racial integration nor compensatory spending made any real difference to student achievement. The other side argued the contrary, based on the same data, and further used the report to underscore the importance of black power. Even interpretations drawn by sociologist James Coleman, one of the directors of the study, varied in emphasis from the official report Equality of Educational Opportunity issued by the U.S. Office of Education.

James S. Coleman, "Equal Schools or Equal Students?" *Public Interest*, No. 4 (Summer, 1966).

(in math achievement) or 4 years (in reading skills) at the 12th grade. In short, the differences are large to begin with, and they are even larger at higher grades.

Two points, then, are clear: (1) these minority children have a serious educational deficiency at the start of school, which is obviously not a result of school; and (2) they have an even more serious deficiency at the end of school, which is obviously in part a result of school.

Thus, by the criterion stated earlier—that the effectiveness of schools in creating equality of educational opportunity lies in making the conditional probabilities of success less conditional—the schools appear to fail. At the end of school, the conditional probabilities of high achievement are even *more* conditional upon racial or ethnic background than they are at the beginning of school.

There are a number of results from the survey which give further evidence on this matter. First, within each racial group, the strong relation of family economic and educational background to achievement does not diminish over the period of school, and may even increase over the elementary years. Second, most of the variation in student achievement lies within the same school, very little of it is between schools. The implication of these last two results is clear: family background differences account for much more variation in achievement than do school differences.

Even the school-to-school variation in achievement, though relatively small, is itself almost wholly due to the social environment provided by the school: the educational backgrounds and aspirations of other students in the school, and the educational backgrounds and attainments of the teachers in the school. *Per pupil*

expenditure, books in the library, and a host of other facilities and curricular measures show virtually no relation to achievement if the "social" environment of the schools—the educational backgrounds of other students and teachers—is held constant.

The importance of this last result lies, of course, in the fact that schools, as currently organized, are quite culturally homogeneous as well as quite racially segregated: teachers tend to come from the same cultural groups (and especially from the same race) as their students, and the student bodies are themselves relatively homogeneous. Given this homogeneity, the principal agents of effectiveness in the schools—teachers and other students—act to maintain or reinforce the initial differences imposed by social origins.

One element illustrates well the way in which the current organization of schools maintains the differences over generations: a Negro prospective teacher leaves a Negro teacher's college with a much lower level of academic competence (as measured by the National Teacher's Examination) than does his white counterpart leaving his largely white college; then he teaches Negro children (in school with other Negro children, ordinarily from educationally deficient backgrounds), who learn at a lower level, in part because of his lesser competence; some of these students, in turn, go into teacher training institutions to become poorly trained teachers of the next generation.

Altogether, the sources of inequality of educational opportunity appear to lie first in the home itself and the cultural influences immediately surrounding the home; then they lie in the schools' ineffectiveness to free achievement from the impact of the home, and in the schools' cultural homo-

for the task at hand: by tests which measured those areas of achievement most necessary for further progress in school, in higher education, and in successful competition in the labor market—that is, verbal and reading skills, and analytical and mathematical skills. Such a criterion does not allow statements about absolute levels of inequality or equality of education provided by the schools, because obviously there are more influences than the school's on a child's level of achievement in school, and there are more effects of schools than in these areas of achievement. What it does do is to broaden the question beyond the school to all those educational influences that have their results in the level of verbal and mathematical skill a young person is equipped with when he or she enters the adult world. In effect, it takes the perspective of this young adult, and says that what matters to him is, not how "equal" his school is, but rather whether he is equipped at the end of school to compete on an equal basis with others, whatever his social origins. From the perspective of society, it assumes that what is important is not to "equalize the schools" in some formal sense, but to assure that children from all groups come into adult society so equipped as to insure their full participation in this society.

Another way of putting this is to say that the schools are successful only insofar as they reduce the dependence of a child's opportunities upon his social origins. We can think of a set of conditional probabilities: the probability of being prepared for a given occupation or for a given college at the end of high school, conditioned upon the child's social origins. The effectiveness of the schools consists, in part, of making the conditional probabilities less conditional—that is, less

dependent upon social origins. Thus, equality of educational opportunity implies, not merely "equal" schools, but equally effective schools, whose influences will overcome the differences in starting point of children from different social groups.

The Widening Educational Gap

This approach to educational opportunity, using as it does achievement on standardized tests, treads on sensitive ground. Differences in average achievement between racial groups can lend themselves to racist arguments of genetic differences in intelligence; even apart from this, they can lead to invidious comparisons between groups which show different average levels of achievement. But it is precisely the avoidance of such sensitive areas that can perpetuate the educational deficiencies with which minorities are equipped at the end of schooling.

What, then, does the survey find with regard to effects of schooling on test achievement? Children were tested at the beginning of grades 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12. Achievement of the average American Indian, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and Negro (in this descending order) was much lower than the average white or Oriental American, at all grade levels. The amount of difference ranges from about half a standard deviation to one standard deviation at early grade levels. At the 12th grade, it increases to beyond one standard deviation. (One standard deviation difference means that about 85 per cent of the minority group children score below the average of the whites, while if the groups were equal only about 50 per cent would score below this average.) The grade levels of difference range up to 5 years of deficiency

nological change, and by our post-industrial society, quite apart from any ideals of equal opportunity, require a far more primary role for the school, if society's children are to be equipped for adulthood.

Self-confidence and Performance

One final result of the survey gives an indication of still another—and perhaps the most important—element necessary for equality of educational opportunity for Negroes. One attitude of students was measured at grades 9 and 12—an attitude which indicated the degree to which the student felt in control of his own fate. For example, one question was: "Agree or disagree: good luck is more important than hard work for success." Another was: "Agree or disagree: every time I try to get ahead someone or something stops me." Negroes much less often than whites had such a sense of control of their fate—a difference which corresponds directly to reality, and which corresponds even more markedly to the Negro's historical position

in American society. However, despite the very large achievement differences between whites and Negroes at the 9th and 12th grades, *those Negroes who gave responses indicating a sense of control of their own fate achieved higher on the tests than those whites who gave the opposite responses. This attitude was more highly related to achievement than any other factor in the student's background or school.*

This result suggests that internal changes in the Negro, changes in his conception of himself in relation to his environment, may have more effect on Negro achievement than any other single factor. The determination to overcome relevant obstacles, and the belief that he will overcome them—attitudes that have appeared in an organized way among Negroes only in recent years in some civil rights groups—may be the most crucial elements in achieving equality of opportunity—not because of changes they will create in the white community, but principally because of the changes they create in the Negro himself.

A Communication: Is Integration Necessary?

FLOYD MCKISSICK

The civil rights movement created most of the ferment about equality in the schools during the 1960's; sociologists and others were only accessories. McKissick, neither a sociologist nor a professional scholar but a spokesman for a civil rights group, responds to one commentary on the U.S. Office of Education Report, Equal Educational Opportunity.

Floyd McKissick, "Is Integration Necessary?" *The New Republic*, Dec. 3, 1966. Copyrighted 1966 © Harrison-Blaine of N.J., Inc.

Sirs: It is not my custom to take pen in hand every time a magazine article affronts my sense of rationality. But

gency which perpetuates the social influences of the home and its environs.

A Modest, Yet Radical Proposal

Given these results, what do they suggest as to avenues to equality of educational opportunity? Several elements seem clear:

a) For those children whose family and neighborhood are educationally disadvantaged, it is important to replace this family environment as much as possible with an educational environment—by starting school at an earlier age, and by having a school which begins very early in the day and ends very late.

b) It is important to reduce the social and racial homogeneity of the school environment, so that those agents of education that do show some effectiveness—teachers and other students—are not mere replicas of the student himself. In the present organization of schools, it is the neighborhood school that most insures such homogeneity.

c) The educational program of the school should be made more effective than it is at present. The weakness of this program is apparent in its inability to overcome initial differences. It is hard to believe that we are so inept in educating our young that we can do no more than leave young adults in the same relative competitive positions we found them in as children.

Several points are obvious: It is not a solution simply to pour money into improvement of the physical plants, books, teaching aids, of schools attended by educationally disadvantaged children. For other reasons, it will not suffice merely to bus children or otherwise achieve *pro forma* integration. (One incidental effect of this would be to increase the segregation within

schools, through an increase in tracking.)

The only kinds of policies that appear in any way viable are those which do not seek to improve the education of Negroes and other educationally disadvantaged at the expense of those who are educationally advantaged. This implies new kinds of educational institutions, with a vast increase in expenditures for education—not merely for the disadvantaged, but for all children. The solutions might be in the form of educational parks, or in the form of private schools paid by tuition grants (with Federal regulations to insure racial heterogeneity), public (or publicly-subsidized) boarding schools (like the North Carolina Advancement School), or still other innovations. This approach also implies reorganization of the curriculum within schools. One of the major reasons for "tracking" is the narrowness of our teaching methods—they can tolerate only a narrow range of skill in the same classroom. Methods which greatly widen the range are necessary to make possible racial and cultural integration within a school—and thus to make possible the informal learning that other students of higher educational levels can provide. Such curricular innovations are possible—but, again, only through the investment of vastly greater sums in education than currently occurs.

It should be recognized, of course, that the goal described here—of equality of educational opportunity through the schools—is far more ambitious than has ever been posed in our society before. The schools were once seen as a supplement to the family in bringing a child into his place in adult society, and they still function largely as such a supplement, merely perpetuating the inequalities of birth. Yet the conditions imposed by tech-

panacea which the reviewer admits to be highly unfeasible politically.

He pointed out that while Negro students showed no less academic self confidence than the average white, they did not show *as much conviction* that their personal behavior would affect what happened to them. I wonder why that should be.

Second, he points out that the Report notes that "A Negro child's achievement is very highly correlated with his feeling that he can control his own destiny."

Third, he notes that "good teachers are much more important to Negroes than to whites." My point is that even if better teachers, a changed student culture, middle-class schools and ability to control one's own destiny are the critical variables, they do not compel the conclusion that integration is the *sine qua non* of learning for Negroes.

In fact, total reliance on integration—which amounts to reliance on acceptance by the white man—is at direct odds with that sense of control over one's destiny" that Jencks notes correlates so directly with achievement.

One wonders if a good teacher is not really one who increases that sense—that sense of ability to cope, to perform, to succeed.

And finally, one wonders if that thing called "middle class" is not really a way of saying that the middle-class child is less helpless and vulnerable, that he knows his parents can and will go to bat for him, that he carries that attitude around with him, that his teachers perceive him differently and that he is treated differently.

David Hunter of the Stern Family Fund once recounted an experiment where a teacher was told that certain of her children were retarded. Sure enough, at the end of the year, their performance was considerably lower than the rest of the class. The only

hitch was that those students were picked at random and the teacher's belief in their inadequacy was made self-fulfilling by the mode in which she treated them.

Perhaps this debate over alternatives to integration would be largely academic and theoretical if the recent controversy over IS 201 in New York did not make clear to all the nation that the facile liberal equation between excellence in education and integration is one which Negroes (as well as whites) are no longer prepared to accept.

And the Coleman Report implicitly supports much of what the parents were fighting for (without \$1.5 million at their disposal to make their demands more scientific). In Jencks' words:

The Report makes a convincing though not definitive case for the view that student achievement depends largely on forces over which today's schools exercise little control. Whether they could exercise more influence if they were organized and run differently remains an open question.

The parents of IS 201 have an answer to that "open question." They contend: If the school is organized and run differently, and if the school is more directly involved with forces which it now treats as outside its concern, student achievement would rise. Educational excellence without integration is possible.

These parents knew—perhaps better than the professional educators—that their individual and collective feeling of powerlessness and the resulting lack of self respect had had and would continue to have a crippling effect upon their children. They therefore demanded:

1. Black authority figures (e.g., a black principal) with whom their children might be able to identify and to

the October 1 issue of *The New Republic* contained a review of extraordinary importance: as much because of the reviewer as the book being reviewed. The book was the now famous Coleman Report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* written of, by, and for the educational establishment. The reviewer, Christopher Jencks, has made a mark for his unorthodoxy, his lack of awe of the educational establishment—and his creative fertile mind.

Out of this dialectic came a remarkable conclusion, and one that is likely to haunt us for a long time to come: "a really superior school for Negroes must indeed be racially integrated."

The logic that compels this conclusion leaves much to be desired.

It runs roughly as follows:

The Coleman Report reveals that school facilities for Negroes and whites are remarkably alike.

Nonetheless, it is equally clear that Negroes do not learn in these wonderfully equal schools.

Ten years ago, it would have been proper to conclude that Negroes are just plain inferior. Today, that is not fashionable.

So instead, we are told that Negroes must be integrated into middle-class (and that means, white) schools. We are told that something called the *student culture* really makes the difference. In other words, mix Negroes with Negroes and you get stupidity. The reviewer was careful to acknowledge that you could mix Negroes with dumb whites and that that would not automatically elevate the Negro. To do him justice he said:

Integrating poor Negroes with middle-class Negroes might do as much good as integrating them with middle-class whites, but as a practical matter there aren't enough middle-class Negroes to go around. . . . For the foreseeable future class integration will be impossible without racial integration.

It is difficult to live with this conclusion: that the Negro will have educational opportunity only with racial integration when it is quite clear, as Jencks notes, that "*white America is not ready to do what would have to be done to integrate Negroes.*"

At first blush, one might well think that the \$1.5 million was spent on a study in order to get white America off the hook, to prove conclusively that spending money trying to educate the Negro was just a waste. In the old days, such an assertion would have been accepted, without documentation. Science appears to have made such conclusions expensive.

But is that what the study really proves? I think not. And I am, for the sake of argument prepared to take Mr. Jencks at his word as to what the study says and does not say.

Let us take for granted that Negroes and whites have equally good schools, that simply pouring money into Negro schools will probably accomplish little or nothing, and that as yet untried improvements in school facilities and programs and similar kinds of innovations have made very little difference in the past.

It is not necessary for purposes of this discussion to assume that Negro schools and white schools are in all respects equal. It is only necessary to assume that the disparity in educational achievement is far greater than can be accounted for by the disparity in resources allocated to Negro and white schools respectively. One might instead speculate that the almost equal resources allocated to Negro schools have in fact gone into the creation of what one Harlem resident called a comprehensive system of "designed retardation."

Scattered throughout the review—as throughout the report are hints that point in a rather different direction from the panacea of integration—a

been. Regardless of good intentions, regardless of gestures and rhetoric, that trust has been betrayed for generation after generation of educationally crippled children.

Democracy places in each man's hand the ability to compel officials to pay heed. The middle class has found ways of making that accountability work—in fact, it works so well that by and large it takes very little effort at all. The perception of accountability, the assumption of accountability, is self-validating.

In IS 201, the parents have sought another way to compel accountability—to insure that they are no longer dismissed as irrelevant, untutored, ignorant and inferior. They say: we don't care what you think. We want a say and we are going to have a say.

And they may be right. They certainly have not yet been proven wrong. Maybe a school committed to respect the individual, a school enjoying the confidence and support of the community, a school reorganized to reflect its faith in the pupil and the parent can achieve excellence—even if that community is poor and black.

It might even offer as much as the opportunity to be bused at 8:00 A.M. into hostile lily-white suburbs to attend a school where acceptance is from nine to three and where membership in the glorious student culture is merely at sufferance.

And that is the point that the Coleman Report leaves open, that Jencks appears to have missed—but that both unwittingly support.

City Schools, Inequality, and Modified Class Struggle

PATRICIA SEXTON

City schools, with a growing majority of Negro students, were the site of sharp racial and class conflict following the U.S. Supreme Court desegregation decisions. Issues and situations within the cities changed so rapidly and were so complex that description and analysis could barely keep pace. My own article on city schools in the mid-sixties tried to identify the major inequities in the system, some of the power contestants, and a few of the prospects for the future. Its emphasis is on elements outside the public school system—especially citizen and political groups and the higher education system—which can function as control centers of school change.

The claim that the city and its school system are so constrained that they can do little seems largely true,

Revised version of an article which appeared in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia, 352 (March, 1964), 95-106.

though partially exaggerated. Too often outside interference is made an excuse for inertia. City schools have not given adequate service to have-nots largely because the have-nots were underrepresented in decision-making positions.

whose position they might aspire. This was particularly important in view of the fact that the students were adolescents, thus impressionable and in the process of making life decisions.

2. Sympathetic teachers who respected black children, were supportive and encouraging, who did not reinforce feelings of insecurity, and who expected black children to learn.

3. Curriculum that reflected the Negro's contribution to world and American history and filled the knowledge gaps left by years of omission and neglect.

4. Increased participation in their children's educational lives. The parents knew that they, unlike white middle-class parents, had no place in the power equation of the New York school system. They also probably sensed that by being vigilant and un-intimidated, they would compel responsiveness and respect, not only from the school administration and teaching staff, but also from their own children.

They have said that the parents of Negro children must be as fully articulate, vigilant and un-intimidated as those of middle-class children. Moreover, those parents must be perceived and responded to by school authorities precisely as middle-class parents are, accorded the same respect and listened to with the same attentiveness.

In effect they are saying to educators that if a child with native intelligence is not achieving, the fault does not lie in the child. One must assume the technique is wrong, the relationship is wrong, the measure of achievement is wrong, the perception of the child is wrong. As with a doctor with a sick patient, it is more prudent to try changing the medicine and mode of treatment than to curse the patient for not getting well.

We have heard—and will continue to hear—much of the slogan, "Black Power." But it is to be noted that the parents in IS 201 at several points have been willing to settle for a white principal—and that insistence on a Negro was not one of their original demands. What they wanted was a chance to participate in such a way that their children, seeing them, would know that even in Harlem a child has a chance. . . .

It is not just the student culture, or the quality of the teachers that is critical. It is the reality of respect and concern, the reality of helplessness in the face of indignity, the reality of failure at tasks which every student has the capacity to perform. This is what the Coleman Report, the Jencks review and the IS 201 controversy really point to. And if the change is to come, meaningful improvement in the quality of education, dramatic alteration in achievement and opportunity, then we must alter a system that in G. B. Shaw's terms condemns a man to be a bootblack and then goes on to prove his inferiority by his occupation.

The schools have long done that to the Negro. They have said to the parents: You are unworthy in our eyes to act as a parent; your understanding and your perception of your child count as naught; your beliefs about his ability and his potential are worthless. Of course, if you mix in enough middle-class children that attitude changes perceptibly. Parents become respected members of the community—persons whose approval and acceptance is desired by teachers.

But IS 201 says there is a different route to respect and a different route to educational excellence. Professional status and office confer a public trust. The parents are entitled to see that that trust is honored. But it has not

Moreover, largely by the manipulation of conflicting religious interests, this coalition has until recently prevented the passage of the federal aid that seems indispensable to urban schools. At the same time it has continued, through extension programs, copious aid to rural education.

(2) Seriously deprived have-nots have failed to enter their full power into the political arena.

Fiscal aid from the state to city schools may be close at hand, depending upon how quickly reapportionment will be enforced in the states. New York City received \$197 in school aid for each student in its public schools in 1961-1962, while the average in the rest of the state was \$314. Miami, Florida paid \$47 million in state taxes in one recent year and got back only \$1.5 million in grants-in-aid.

Consequences of local, state, and national class conflict are seen in the school inequalities and class-biased training given to children even within the most liberal city systems. Only in the past few years has the concern of some unionists, academicians, liberals, and many Negroes brought the full range of inequities to public attention. The "spoils" of the city school, limited as they are by outside controls, are usually divided according to the crude formula "them as has gets." Only now in some cities is there any insistence on the more radical "compensatory" formula—"to each according to need."

Evidence about class inequalities, past and present, is now weighty. My own study of one large city school system, *Education and Income*, describes the various forms of class inequities within one system.³ I will refer here only to a few facts about Chicago and New York (not the cities in my

study). In 1955, following Dr. Kenneth Clark's demand for attention to Negro schools, an "outside" study found that Negro and Puerto Rican schools in New York City were generally inferior to "Other" schools.⁴ In a group of Negro and Puerto Rican schools (the X Group), 50.3 per cent of teachers were on tenure, compared to 78.2 per cent in the "Other" group (the Y Group); 18.1 per cent in the X group and only 8.3 per cent in the Y group were "permanent substitutes." On the average, facilities in Group X schools were older, less adequate, and more poorly maintained than Y schools. The costs of operating Y schools were higher than costs in X schools. Though the New York Board of Education now claims that Negro and Puerto Rican schools are equal or superior to "Other" schools, Dr. Kenneth Clark still says Harlem schools reflect "a consistent pattern of criminal neglect."

In the absence of cost-accounting, comparative expenditures in have and have-not schools in New York cannot be checked. Certainly efforts are being made by New York schools to provide better education for deprived minorities, especially in "certain" schools where extra services tend to be over-concentrated, but the schools still do not seem to approach full equality, and the cost estimates do not measure the full cost of education—the differences in nursery and kindergarten education, the last two years of high school missed by the low-income dropout, and the costs of higher education—not to mention the low-quality and segregated "ability" tracks into which have-not children are often placed.

Though New York permitted an outside study of school inequalities in 1954, the Chicago Superintendent of

³ Patricia Cayo Sexton, *Education and Income* (New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1961).

⁴ *The Status of the Public School Education of Negro and Puerto Rican Children in New York City*, October, 1955.

As cities go, New York's school board seems unusually enlightened. Yet a nine-member board includes only one Negro and no Puerto Rican, although these groups together compose 40 per cent of the city's public school enrollment. Nor is there any blue-collar worker or person of modest means or position on the board, but, then, such individuals are rare specimens on city boards. One trade unionist, himself a university graduate and member of a professional union, sits on the board. Of some 777 top officials in the system—board members, superintendents, and principals—it appears that only six are Negroes, 0.8 per cent of the total.¹

Perhaps the "equality lag" within city systems may be more directly attributable to deficiencies in have-not organization than to lack of good faith among liberals and board members. Many cities could nearly be "possessed" by Negroes who approach a majority in some cases, but Negroes do not vote their numerical strength and may be evicted from the city limits by urban renewal before they catch up with their potential. Nor do labor unions use their full authority in school affairs. A major weakness of have-nots is their limited understanding of power, who has it and how to get it; they also lack the time, money, and organization often needed to purchase it.²

¹ Daniel Griffiths and others, *Teacher Mobility in New York City* (New York, 1963).

² Banfield and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 282: "Organized labor—even if it includes in its ranks the majority of all the adult citizens in the community—is generally regarded as a 'special interest' which must be 'represented'; businessmen, on the other hand, are often regarded, not as 'representing business' as a 'special interest,' but as serving the community as a whole. Businessmen, in Peter Clark's term, often are viewed as 'symbols of civic legitimacy.' Labor leaders rarely have this symbolic quality, but must contend with whatever stigma attaches to being from a

Local conflict seems only a dim reflection of a larger conflict. The main drama of class conflict is seen in full dimension in a larger arena—at the federal and state levels. The national scene cannot be ignored in any consideration of the city school situation. Only at this level does there appear a possibility of releasing the funds needed to support high-quality education and the high-level job opportunity that goes with it. The claim that federal aid to education is the *only* school issue and that other concerns are simply distractions is given substantial support by any cursory study of school budgets.

Nationally, the conflict seems shaped by at least two major factors:

(1) A congressional system that is still biased against have-nots and their representatives. The bias results from at least two forms of conservative manipulation: (a) manipulation of rural and small-town interests, North and South, and, through them, congressional apportionment and votes; (b) the additional manipulation of southern rural conservatism—which has been given unusual congressional power by the committee seniority system—through the exchange of votes on the race issue.

The power of haves at this top level serves to block federal nonmilitary spending in general but specifically those measures that might ensure rapid economic growth through federal expenditures, full employment, and the extension of power to have-nots—measures that would give significant relief to the city's distress. More directly relevant, it has blocked aid to cities and held up the transfer of political power from rural to urban areas.

lower-class background and associated with a special-interest group. . . . Labor is handicapped not only by having imputed to it less civic virtue but also by a shortage of money and organizational skills."

racial distribution of recent graduating classes in New York's special high schools for "gifted children" drawn from the whole city:

| | NEGROES | PUERTO RICANS | OTHERS |
|------------------------------|---------|---------------|--------|
| Bronx High School of Science | 14 | 2 | 863 |
| Stuyvesant High School | 23 | 2 | 629 |
| High School of Music and Art | 45 | 12 | 638 |
| Brooklyn Technical School | 22 | 6 | 907 |

In one recent year, Negroes and Puerto Ricans were about 14 per cent of the graduating class in the city's academic high schools and about 50 per cent in the city's vocational high schools. In the vocational schools, Negroes and Puerto Ricans tend to be heavily concentrated in inferior manual trade schools and seriously under-represented in the technical schools. For example, in a class of 361 in the aviation school (a high-level technical school), 26 were Negroes, 51 were Puerto Ricans, 284 were "Others." In the class at the New York printing school, 4 were Negroes, 16 were Puerto Ricans, and 183 were "Others." At the Clara Barton school for hospital workers, Negroes were a clear majority. Vocational schools have been "tightening standards" recently and sending minorities to "academic" schools where, if neglected, they may be no better off.

A developing conflict centers on higher education. Though ethnic records are not kept, one expert estimate is that about 2 per cent of students at the University of the City of New York (formerly the city's free colleges) are Negro. One branch of the University is located at the edge of Harlem and is more integrated and

accessible to Negroes than other branches, yet less than 5 per cent Negro enrollment is reported there.

In New York, Negroes tend to fall between the free city colleges and the dominant and expensive private universities. They can neither qualify for the former nor afford the latter. Needs tests are not applied to city college admissions, and enrollments are reported to be now predominantly middle class.⁹ Some critics now say that the only equitable system of tuition charges, in all types of institutions, is a sliding scale based on ability to pay.

The compilation and release of information about ethnic and social class enrollments in institutions of higher education, as well as the postsecondary experiences of students, appear to be the first step out of the college inequities which have, in turn, imposed inequities on lower educational levels. Equality of opportunity in higher education will probably come only through a national network of community colleges—low in cost and located within easy commuting distance—and available to all "average"-or-above students who want further education.¹⁰ Perhaps Britain's proposed experiment with televised university instruction will provide an alternative, or supplementary model, to the community college.

⁹ California spent \$33 million on community and junior colleges in 1961-1962 and \$214 million on other types of higher education. New York State spent \$5.7 million on community and junior colleges and \$111 million on other types of higher education. M. M. Chambers, Joint Office of Institutional Research, "Appropriations of State Funds for Operating Expenses of Higher Education, 1961-62," Washington, D.C., January 1962.

¹⁰ The so-called "Russell Report" (Columbia Teachers College) to the Michigan legislature reported that the college enrollments by area rose and fell in proportion to the distance from the state's colleges.

Schools, Benjamin Willis, has only in the past year agreed to a three-man study committee of which he will be a member. In 1962 John E. Coons, Northwestern University law professor, prepared for the United States Commission on Civil Rights a report on segregated schools in Chicago.⁵ Ten schools in each of three groups were selected—white, integrated, Negro—and the findings were as follows:

| 1961-1962 | WHITE | INTE-GRATED | NEGRO |
|-----------------------------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| Number of pupils per classroom | 30.95 | 34.95 | 46.8 |
| Appropriation per pupil | \$342 | \$320 | \$269 |
| Number of un-certified teachers | 12% | 23% | 27% |
| Average number of books per pupil | 5.0 | 3.5 | 2.5 |

In 1963 a *Handbook of Chicago School Segregation* claimed that 1961 appropriations for school operating expenses were almost 25 per cent greater per pupil in white than in Negro schools, that teacher salaries were 18 per cent higher, that nonteaching operating expenses—clerical and maintenance, salaries, supplies, textbooks—were 50 per cent higher, and that only 3 per cent of Chicago's Negro population finishes college.⁶

An example of influential conservatism in relation to have-nots and the schools is seen in this passage from the *Chicago Tribune*: "Let's Throw the Slobs out of School":⁷

⁵ John E. Coons, *Civil Rights USA, Chicago, 1962, A Report to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.*

⁶ *Handbook of Chicago School Segregation, 1963, compiled and edited by the Education Committee, Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, August 1963.*

⁷ Reprint from *Chicago Tribune Magazine, "Let's Throw the Slobs out of School,"* as it appears in *Human Events*, September 21, 1963, a weekly magazine distributed to social-

The ignoramuses have had their chance. It is time to make them responsible for their actions. . . . Sweep through the school house with a fiery broom. Remove the deadwood, the troublemakers, the no-goods, the thugs. . . .

[The teacher can tell on the first day] which students are the dissatisfied, the misfits, the illiterate [sic], undeserving, *non compos* nincompoops.

We have become the victims of the great transcendental fraud, a deceit put upon us by a generation of psychiatrists, guidance counselors, and psychologists, none of whom spends any more time in the classroom dealing with these apes than he has to.

Despite the fact that median income in Chicago is higher than in New York, Chicago in one recent year spent \$410 per pupil while New York spent \$761.52.⁸

Inequalities and the compensatory formula now being advocated—reverse inequality—produce only one kind of conflict, one which may be more easily resolved than other disputes because it involves simply the redistribution of money. The "concept" of equality itself seems far less susceptible to change—the notion that, with proper attention, the abilities of have-not children may prove roughly equal to those of haves and that, therefore, they should not be separated, sent off at an early age on different tracks, or given disproportionate access to higher education.

In New York City, fiscal inequality, segregation, and the "concept" of inequality resulted in the following

studies classes in schools throughout the nation.

⁸ While 21.3 per cent of Chicago's population have incomes over \$10,000 annually, only 18.5 per cent of New Yorkers are in this category. In Chicago, 26.3 per cent of whites are in this bracket and only 8.7 per cent of Negroes; at the same time, 9.9 per cent of whites and 28.4 per cent of Negroes have incomes less than \$3,000 per year.

selves to the slums . . . to the crumbling houses and gutted alleys; to the black children running out in the streets while cars kill some and miss others; to the fourteen- and fifteen-year-old girls who consume barbiturates and die; to the old men, the winos, the juice trickling out of the corners of their mouths and most of them under forty, who perch on milk crates grinning toothlessly at the women swinging their hips down the street.

None of this came through to the White House Conference. "Wino" was a dirty word. Many of the delegates were glib, well-dressed Northerners who had big reputations within their particular areas for zealous efforts in the betterment of human relations. After listening through two straight sessions to small businessmen and well-meaning but unknowledgeable whites expound their ideas on the Negroes' plight, I decided to get up and speak. After I had expressed some of these thoughts, about what life is really like in Watts, a well-heeled, smooth-voiced delegate from the East Coast said to me, "Johnie Scott, you are indeed a hoodlum. But hoodlums are the most beautiful people." Hoodlums acquire a certain graveness of mien not noticeable in most people.

At schools like Jordan High, the annual turnover is close to ten teachers a year; this summer 371 teachers in the Watts area asked to be transferred elsewhere. These schools have been looking desperately to Washington for aid. It should have been made clear at that Conference that a B.A. does not qualify one to teach a child who suffers not only from an intellectual deprivation, but from a moral starvation. This starvation begins in homes where Mother is seldom there and Daddy's name is only a ghost of

a memory, and often cursed by Mother at that.

As I described my home to the delegates, many thoughts ran through my mind. I wondered whether I was being too biased in my position, whether I was speaking too hastily. And yet I could feel that here were people who truly had grown apart from the feeling of absolute nothingness that permeates and works on the mind in the ghetto, a feeling that can corrode even the senses of one who had tried to hide from the images of poverty with books and activities, with girls and parties—of one who was finally admitted into Harvard University because of a high scholastic record as the first Negro from Watts to hit the Ivy League.

That person was me. It was me, all of eighteen years old and standing in the Boston Common trying to forget all that I had come from. It was me, one Easter Sunday, receiving a call from Los Angeles and being told one of my best friends had been shot in the head with a shotgun while he tried to protect another of my friends. It was me, who had to learn that shame often does not come from repressed memories but rather from imagined or conceived notions of what the white and the "black bourgeois" societies dictate. And it was me, ultimately, who had to leave Harvard after a year of fluctuating moods of depression and elation—the elation coming, for instance, when I went to visit the home of a Harvard friend; I canoed, for the very first time in my life, and saw silver fish leap from waters forty degrees cool.

Watts appeared very strange to me when I returned. And yet, as I walked through the projects, as I went by the old houses on the back streets, as I described my Harvard experiences to my friends, I again became aware of the tremendous spiritual toll the ghetto

My Home Is Watts

JOHNIE SCOTT

Students, the consumers of education, are seldom heard from, except in moments of extreme discontent and protest. Scott tells his own story of Watts, the riot-plagued section of Los Angeles, and Negro ghetto life and schools.

I will give you a description of Watts as I know it. It is a personal picture, because for us who live within the confines of 92nd Street and Imperial Highway, Central Avenue to Alameda, Watts is personal because it becomes you. I live in the Jordan Downs Housing Projects. Much of the rioting last year occurred in this area; the more recent outbreaks were along the fringes of these projects. A Mexican-American was shot and killed in my parking lot.

There were 550 kids in my graduating class at Edwin Markham Junior High School. Three days later we registered at Jordan Senior High. There were 250 of us; 300 were already gone. Three years later we were seniors at Jordan. With but twenty weeks remaining before high-school graduation there were 107 of us. We called ourselves "Les Améliorants" (The Improvers). Indeed we were, for on graduation day, January 30, 1964, we were the largest graduating winter class in Jordan history—there were 97 of us. According to the counselors, who confided to our advanced composition class only a few days before graduation, the average grade point of the Jordan graduate in my class was 1.8

Johnie Scott, "My Home Is Watts," *Harper's Magazine*, October 1966.

(D-minus), and his reading level was 6.0 (sixth grade).

Strangely, three of us took the Scholastic Aptitude Tests. I was the first to find out about them from some white youths I had met while writing high-school sports for the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*. If one takes illiteracy as a gauge for discontent, look at the high-school graduates of my class, or look at this past summer when there were 365 to graduate from Jordan. Three years ago there were 768 kids in that class—less than half made it through, to enter an area which the McCone Report on the Watts troubles says is now flooded with thousands of jobs. I would answer the McCone Report by pointing out that the same people I saw burn and riot, the same people who went to school with me—many of them very able but frustrated by the demands of school and the impersonal teaching they got—are still at the same hangouts. For there is another type of "graduation" in ghettos: graduation from marihuana to "smack," or heroin.

Early this summer, I attended the White House Conference on Civil Rights at the Sheraton-Park in Washington, D.C. To me, the Conference had convened because Negroes as well as whites had not addressed them-

selves to the slums . . . to the crumbling houses and gutted alleys; to the black children running out in the streets while cars kill some and miss others; to the fourteen- and fifteen-year-old girls who consume barbiturates and die; to the old men, the winos, the juice trickling out of the corners of their mouths and most of them under forty, who perch on milk crates grinning toothlessly at the women swinging their hips down the street.

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exacts. I could now feel the hopelessness. I, in failing at Harvard, had been ripped asunder from all my retreats from poverty, and for once I had to stand naked before my own fear . . . before the leering face of myself, an old man perched on a milk crate cackling at the young ladies.

You see here your sisters become pregnant one after another; you hear a black man shout in your ear, "Be proud of your color, boy"; you live through the riot, through the blood and the fire; but most of all, you feel the hatred that is here while mothers plead with you to break into the shoe stores so they might get shoes for their children. You become aware of how difficult it is to raise your head and look a white man in the face to say, "I can accept you." Acceptance, not because you love the white man, but because you realize that it is a greater hell to meet with one's conscience than it is to hate a white man.

I was flattered that the gentleman in Washington thought hoodlums were "beautiful people," but this only served to highlight another, and to me more disturbing, aspect of the battle for equality in this country. We have always concerned ourselves with the progressive strides taken by the Negro toward freedom. We note how he began as a slave and, after the Civil War, the way he rapidly became aware of education and his own humanity. We decried the crumbling family structure, and yet nodded wisely to ourselves that he would overcome even this handicap.

The broken family and the image of the emasculated male are a tradition ascribed to the Negro since slavery. It is a way of life begun by the slave masters who sold father, mother, and son down the river, who callously raped the black man's wife while she,

screaming in her agony, lost respect for a man who would not risk death for her. This emasculated male, this man stripped of his manhood, is now at the forefront of the battles for civil rights. It is, for him, the final assertion of his masculinity.

I myself do little more now than stand with the fellows on the corner of 103rd Street and watch the leaders step off Baldwin Hill to speak for the Negro in Watts, watch the Ivy League Negroes who live in \$100,000 homes, who have never stood on street corners and felt the fury of their sadness, call press conferences on the ghetto. They will one day have to move to the side. They will have to move because the children who have grown old in the ghetto, who have watched the police whip their older brothers, who have survived reform school and prison, will one day be able to articulate for themselves, to the entire world, the message of their own deepest desires. I believe that the world will be surprised.

Surprised not by the stringency of the slum Negroes' demands, but rather by their "humanness." The slum Negro will ask, for his children, parks (and in Watts there is but one); efficient care of those who need relief and medical care (and at present both the Bureau of Public Assistance and the Los Angeles County General Hospital are under fire for their inordinately slow treatment and processing of poor people); jobs that will reach the majority of the community's skills (there is no trade school in Watts, and there is but one in the entire city of Los Angeles); increased contact with social workers; a rapport with politician and policeman; good schools with space for growth as the community itself grows; and, most of all, communication with the outside world on a level other than that of fear.

Classrooms in the Military

HAROLD F. CLARK

HAROLD S. SLOAN

The armed forces have a long and virtually unexplored history of training and educating the marginal man—who has come to be known in the schools as the “disadvantaged.” The military system is more like the schools than any other training institution. Military training, like schooling, is compulsory during periods of national emergency; and, like the schools, the military services must train a cross section of the population.

The military, however, has the advantage over the schools of being somewhat more selective. It can more easily eliminate those who cannot or will not “fit in.” It is a more effective disciplinary body and provides a highly male milieu for the most serious school disciplinary cases, boys. It has full-time control over trainees and does not send them home to conflicting rules and culture. It can provide a more socially and racially integrated living arrangement. It can motivate learning by providing immediate job advancement for trainees and other rewards for successful performance. It has much more money than the schools. Still, the military model is a rich and almost virgin field of study for scholars and schoolmen who wish to improve education for the disadvantaged.

The Varying Concept of “Marginal”

Every man is marginal. Most of us are marginal for some things and for most things some of us are marginal. Marginality is a relative concept and can be meaningful only in a defined context. Even within a defined context, the state of being marginal may not be static. In time, the marginal may meet or exceed the standard: the underweight person may gain the needed weight. In time, the standard may be changed: people of less weight per given height will be accepted. There may be nothing permanent about the characteristics of the person which made him marginal; and there may be nothing permanent about the standards which declare him marginal.

In the particular case of being considered marginal for use by the Army, the problem shifts from the philosophical to the empirical. Standards for acceptance into the Armed Services vary principally according to supply and demand. In time of increased mobilization, the age range may be widened, the physical and mental standards lowered, and a more lenient policy established in moral waivers. While the Army has at times inducted men whose utility to the Army was in question, little systematic evidence has been collected on the effectiveness of such men or of the units to which they were assigned.

The experiences of the Army during the first World War and during the

training conducted under the Civilian Conservation Corps between the wars demonstrated the need for including men called marginal in any manpower mobilization planning. World Wars I and II showed that when individuals are drawn from all segments of American life through the draft, a startling array of physical, mental, educational, social and other individual differences becomes evident.

At one time or another, the Armed Services have applied the concept of marginal manpower, if not the term, to persons in the following categories:

- Physically handicapped.
- Physically substandard.
- Less than fourth-grade education.
- English-speaking, but unable to read or write at fourth-grade level.
- Unable to read and understand simple instructions or sign their names.
- Fail to achieve a qualifying score on selection tests.
- Limited verbal ability or aptitude.
- Non-English speaking who are literate in their native tongue.
- Non-English speaking; illiterate in native tongue.
- Subaverage or slow learners.
- Slow to adjust to military life; emotionally unstable or maladjusted.
- Morally unacceptable; criminal records.
- Conscientious objectors.

It is apparent that there is considerable overlap, lack of uniformity, and an absence of comparable levels in these definitions. Some refer to characteristics or states of a person who is marginal—for example, "slow learner"; some are operational definitions and indicate how marginality is to be assessed—"inability to read or sign one's name"; some are phrased in terms of the way marginal persons are to be handled or treated—those for whom only limited service is appropriate or those who require some form of special training.

The "Limited Service" Concept

The concept of "limited service" developed during World War II out of necessity to accept men who could be useful to the Army even though they were limited in the kinds of work they could do and circumstances under which they could work. The term originally applied to men with either physical or mental limitations, or both. Later, the designation was narrowed to include only those with physical limitations. These men brought to the military service many useful civilian skills which were directly related to the needs of the service. While they could be assigned only to designated positions—which were limited in number—or in some cases were restricted to certain geographic areas, their prior skills and generally higher mental level permitted greater flexibility of assignment than was possible with men who were mentally limited.

The term "limited service" was abandoned in 1943 because of the restricted nature of the term. Its abandonment did not, however, eliminate the problem of special handling of personnel who were physically marginal.

The mental marginal poses a larger training and utilization problem. Persons so classified have continuously been associated with assignment to the less demanding jobs—jobs selected for the most part on an ad hoc basis. Even for these jobs, or even for satisfactory completion of basic training, the mental marginal may need longer and more intensive training than the man of average ability. He may arrive as a semiliterate. His potential usefulness to the Army is dependent upon his achieving a combination of the basic knowledge and the basic skill required to do an Army job.

The "Special Training" Concept

The pattern of training the marginal man, particularly the individuals with mental or language limitations, frequently took the form of instruction in special training units. Marginals were removed from the normal basic training activities and given such training as would allow them to be later absorbed into regular military life. During World War II, ability to read and write at the fourth-grade level was considered necessary for service men. Special training was instituted to bring those in need up to that level. This educational training was intermixed with training in regular military subjects. Later, other programs such as the prebasic training of insular Puerto Ricans, who had little or no command of the English language, followed a similar pattern. These programs were not experimental. They were attempts to meet compelling needs for an enlarged manpower base. Other programs have followed an experimental design, such as the Transitional Training Program at Fort Leonard Wood in 1953 and a similar Air Force study called Project 1000. Both of these efforts are described and evaluated later.

Problems of Verification

The history of the identification, training, and utilization of marginal manpower in the Armed Forces to date is a record of only partial fulfillment of a goal. If the aim has been to find out who the marginals are, how they may be selected, and what they can do, those ends have never been achieved. Ideally, an account of experience with men whose potential military usefulness was in question would state (1) by what criterion it was decided that certain men should

be inducted—selection; (2) how the kind of work they should be trained for was decided upon—classification; (3) how they were prepared for these jobs—whether special or extended training was given them and what kind of training; and (4) how their contribution compared to that of men of similar ability not so trained. Unfortunately, military experience with marginal men cannot be so neatly catalogued.

The question of utilizing marginal manpower becomes one of scientific verification. Such verification is fraught with problems and possible sources of misunderstanding. Problems of management, of logistics, of administration are frequently encountered by operational personnel in the establishment of programs to utilize marginals and to assess the effect of such utilization.

Another and less generally recognized deterrent to the effective evaluation of the utility to the Army of men in the marginal segment lies in the fact that marginal man is so labeled. Trainers, cadre, job supervisors may tend to evaluate a man low on performance if they know or think he has previously been classified as marginal. They are likely, consciously or unconsciously, to look more closely for indicators of inapt behavior in such a group than they would in a nonmarginal group. There may also be a tendency to interpret behavior in a marginal as inapt, whereas the same behavior would not be so classified if observed in a nonmarginal. *For example*, during World War II, commanders complained that they were getting too many men in the lowest mental category. The Department of the Army then arbitrarily decreed that the top half of that category would henceforth be classified in the next higher category. Commanders practi-

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consequence to subsequent performance.

3. In some instances, aptitude tests administered at time of entry into service are readministered after completion of special training. It is sometimes assumed that an increase in test scores indicates an increased capacity to learn and perform military jobs—an increased capability brought about by the special training. Because a man's skills, knowledges, and interests change, aptitude test scores can, do, and should be expected to change as a result of training, special coaching, and other factors. Such changes, however, may not indicate that a man will be able to learn things that he previously was unable to learn. *For example*, by providing a man with the meanings of words he did not know previously, his verbal comprehension or aptitude score can be raised. He may not, however, be able to learn or to perform military jobs not directly dependent upon his newly acquired knowledge of words.

4. Individual performance tests or job proficiency tests can provide one of the most valid means for assessing the effectiveness of training, but such instruments have rarely been administered to marginal personnel who have received special training. In lieu of adequate performance measures, attempts to demonstrate the value of special training have used ratings of trainees by teachers and cadre. Because ratings are particularly sensitive to various forms of bias, they must be designed and used with extreme care—a requirement that often has not been met in assessing marginal personnel. Findings based upon ratings should properly be viewed as suggestive rather than definitive, particularly when they deal with the utilization of marginal men—an issue likely to arouse strong feelings and stereotyped beliefs.

5. Searches of administrative records (for proficiency and character ratings,

promotions, decorations, disciplinary actions, venereal disease infections, type of discharge) have frequently been made in an effort to assess the effectiveness and adaptability of marginal men, both those who have received special training and those who have not. Records, however, are rarely satisfactory as a source of data for evaluating individual performance. They are likely to be insensitive, if not misleading, when used for this purpose. Not only are they difficult to collect and analyze but they tend to vary widely in meaning from one unit to another. Hagen and Thorndike (1953), who attempted to assess the effects of literacy training among naval personnel in World War II by means of a records analysis, have clearly documented the difficulties of such a procedure. The sample that can be reconstructed from available records is suspect since the records of some persons are not available and their absence might appreciably influence the findings. Studies based on incomplete records cannot be used to conclude that marginals are or are not different from nonmarginal personnel.

6. Efforts to demonstrate the value of special training for marginal personnel have frequently used comments made by the trainees themselves, by persons who have later come into contact with them, or by teachers who provided the instruction. Such comments are likely to reflect the common attitude that "education is a good thing," and may have little significance for estimating the military value of such training.

7. Perhaps the major limitation of most prior attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of special training has been the failure to select groups of men with similar characteristics—some to undergo special training, others not to.

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Previous Military Programs for Marginal Personnel

Unfortunately, efforts to deal with the problem of utilizing marginal personnel have not been sufficiently searching or sufficiently analytic. With the exception of such clearly different situations as those involving physically handicapped persons, non-English speaking persons, and conscientious objectors, one of the inadequacies characteristic of prior attempts to deal with marginal men has been the tendency to classify and treat such individuals as if they all presented much the same problem. The pitfalls in such an approach are soon evident. Literacy training for a man who has consistently failed to learn to read while attending school, for example, is likely to pose a totally different set of problems, requiring different treatment, from training for a man who cannot read because of a lack of schooling.

There have been few attempts to evaluate marginals in a comprehensive and systematic manner or to provide a thorough-going analysis of the different types of marginals and causes of their being marginal. As a consequence, there has in general been a failure to devise appropriate and effective means for correcting the condition.

Most previous efforts to utilize marginal personnel have been attempts to raise the men's level of ability, in order to permit them to perform a job in the service. These efforts have been focused on men who are presumably marginal because of educational deficiencies—the illiterate or semilliterate. It is generally believed that in order

to be an effective soldier a man needs to be able to read, write, and do simple arithmetic—though how much of these skills is actually necessary is far from clear. Because of this, attention has typically been devoted to some form of supplementary literacy training designed to raise a man's educational level to an acceptable standard.

The general value of such educational training to the individual and to society is unquestioned. The General Educational Development Program which has been, and still is, in effect in the Army probably serves this purpose well. The special training given during World War II was a worthwhile effort to make up for widespread lack of educational opportunity. It was sufficiently effective to win the attention of educators. Effectiveness of the program was most evident in the case of those able to learn but who had had little chance to go to school. From the standpoint of ultimate military value, however, the results of such programs must be viewed as largely inconclusive, for the reasons discussed below.

1. In some studies, the only practicable criterion of training effectiveness has been a comparison of a man's measured educational level at the beginning and the end of training. A demonstrated increase in the educational level of a marginal man at the end of special training does not demonstrate either that such a change is permanent, nor that it will have any effect on the man's future military usefulness—adaptability, trainability, or job behavior.

2. In other studies, the only index offered of the success of training is whether a man has completed it. Such evidence indicates only that a man has been exposed to certain material, not necessarily that he has mastered it. It is also important to determine to what extent completion of training is of

consequence to subsequent performance.

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students in increasing numbers. The question arose as to whether, in that time of shortages, there would be enough workers in the construction trades to carry on a building program of such magnitude. The then Governor asked the legislative representative of the AFL for his opinion on this point. He looked the Governor in the eye and replied:

"You forget, Governor, that these are *our* sons and *our* daughters you are talking about. You'll have all the construction workers you need." And that promise was faithfully kept.

One of the little-noted developments in the postwar years is the increasing participation of labor leaders in positions of responsibility in educational affairs at every level. They are serving on hundreds of local school boards, and on governing boards of our public colleges and universities. They are there, not to intrude the official views of organized labor into deliberations and decisions, but to represent the interests of millions of Americans whose stake in education is a very large stake indeed. That participation in educational affairs should be welcomed, for out of it well may come other significant developments such as this historic conference in which we are participating today.

It is clear beyond all question that Justin Morrill and the others who labored with him to bring the land-grant colleges into being were fighting to correct an inequality in opportunities for higher education in the United States of that day. The record is eloquent on that point. Perhaps you would be interested in a brief review of exactly what the founding fathers said.

I begin with the words of a man from Michigan, because my native state was the first of many to petition Congress to grant public lands for the

support of a new kind of college, a proposal eventually incorporated in the Morrill Act. Michigan can validly claim to be the pioneer in this new educational movement, for while many states were discussing the establishment of colleges to offer a new kind of higher education, Michigan was the first to act. The Michigan Agricultural College, now Michigan State University, was authorized by the State Constitution of 1850 and chartered by the state legislature in 1855, and opened its doors in May 1857, five years in advance of the passage of the Morrill Act. At the opening ceremonies, President Joseph R. Williams defended Michigan's educational experiment by pointing out that hitherto, higher education had been reserved for the favored few and that "seven-eighths of a race, on whose toil all subsist, have been deemed unworthy of mental cultivation." Michigan proposed to correct that flagrant inequality.

Jonathan Baldwin Turner, of Illinois, is properly credited with being in the van of the fight for greater educational opportunity for underprivileged Americans. He was a tireless, eloquent exponent of education for the masses, and some notion of his philosophy may be gained from the very name of the institutions he proposed to establish—industrial universities. One passage from his famous Griggsville speech will demonstrate his concern:

All civilized society is, necessarily, divided into two distinct cooperative, not antagonistic, classes: a small class, whose proper business it is to teach the true principles of religion, law, medicine, science, art, and literature; and a much larger class, who are engaged in some form of labor in agriculture, commerce, and the arts. For the sake of convenience, we will designate the former the *professional*, and the latter the *industrial* class.

marginal personnel can be determined only by comparing the performances of men who have, and similar men who have not, been given such training. Satisfactory performance by marginal men who have received special

training does not in itself serve as a measure of the effectiveness of the training, since there is no way of knowing how these men would have performed without the training.

The Challenge of Equal Opportunity to the Colleges and Universities

JOHN A. HANNAH

A topic of highest priority in considering stratification and power in school and society is the quality, availability, and control of higher education. Colleges sit at the top of the school pyramid, determining to a large extent what happens in schools at lower levels as well as the characteristics of the society for which colleges prepare personnel and leaders.

During the Civil War the federal government passed the Land-Grant act, which offered land to the states for the establishment of colleges for instruction in agriculture and mechanics. A landmark in American education, the Act introduced two bold new concepts into higher education, from which they then percolated down to lower school levels. It asserted that higher education should be open to the general public and not restricted to small elites, as in European universities; and it insisted that higher education should be concerned with practical and useful subjects as well as the traditional liberal arts emphasized in schools abroad.

More perhaps than any other single act, these land grants shaped the course of American education and made it at once more egalitarian and more practical. Better known as the Morrill Act, after its sponsor, the Act endowed at least one college in each state to serve citizens previously excluded from higher education, thus preparing the ground for our present extensive system of state colleges and universities. Hannah, president of the largest land-grant college, Michigan State University, discusses the purposes, history, and record of these federally sponsored and state-operated institutions.

It should be no surprise to anyone in this country to see again that organized labor is interested in higher edu-

cation. I well recall when the State of Michigan was considering undertaking an extensive program of construction at its colleges and universities immediately following the close of World War II to provide facilities for the returning veterans and other Michigan

Address by John A. Hannah, President of Michigan State University, to the Conference on Equal Opportunity for Higher Education, Washington, D.C., January, 1962.

for the underdog, gave overwhelming approval to their proposals.

Reading closely, and between the lines as well, we can find that these pioneers were protesting against another kind of unfairness. It was not fair to the country, they were saying, to deprive it of the skilled manpower it needed to grow and develop. Morrill repeatedly pointed out that wealth depended upon agriculture and industry and that America had need of knowledge and trained manpower with which to develop its tremendous potential.

It is important for us of this date to note that inequality was seen as inequality between the two classes into which Turner divided civilized society—the small, aristocratic, privileged professions on the one hand, the rest of mankind on the other. It is important because it is a measure of the success of the land-grant colleges that the class distinctions of a century ago have been blurred where they have not been eliminated. Those unique institutions have raised a score and more of vocations to equal rank with the professions. They have done it in the only way it could have been done, and that is to have opened the doors of educational opportunity to all, regardless of class and irrespective of the kind of work they were preparing to do.

It is important to keep that century-old definition of inequality in mind because the fundamental land-grant philosophy is being threatened today, both directly and indirectly, on different grounds. It is almost inconceivable that this should be so, considering the unmatched record of success it has achieved.

The threats to the land-grant philosophy are posed by those who say that this country is too poor—or has too many other uses for its money—

to continue to give generous support to worthy young men and women seeking an opportunity to acquire higher education. We are hearing critics say repeatedly that students and their parents should pay more and more of the cost of education—what they really are saying is that the state should pay less and less. This they are saying with increasing vehemence in the face of Morrill's dictum that all persons become more valuable by education, more useful to themselves and to the community. This they are saying despite the record, despite the plain fact that America would not be what she is today had not the doors of educational opportunity been forced open a century ago and the sons of farmers and factory workers been invited into the halls of learning previously reserved for their privileged fellows.

The economists are not in agreement as to the contributions of education to our growth and prosperity, except that they are most impressive. An economic publication of the Chase Manhattan Bank recently summarized one economic study as indicating that 24 per cent of the increase in Gross National Product from 1929 to 1957 and 44 per cent of the advance in the increase per worker could be attributed to the higher level of education in the labor force. In addition, it was reported, increased knowledge and its application accounted for another 17 per cent of the growth in Gross National Product and 31 percent of the rise in the output per employee. The publication stated that these are probably overestimates but does point out the obvious that the better educated the labor force, the more productive it will be and that the advance in technology, which is basic to growth, rests on education.

The thought that financial barriers should be placed in the path of young

. . . The vast difference, in the practical means, of an appropriate liberal education, suited to their wants and their destiny, which these two classes enjoy, and ever have enjoyed the world over, must have arrested the attention of every thinking man. . . .

Later, in the same address, Turner asked the key question: What do the industrial classes want? This was his answer:

They want, and they ought to have, the same facilities for understanding the true philosophy, the science and the art of their several pursuits (their life business), and of efficiently applying existing knowledge thereto, and widening its domain, which the professional classes have long enjoyed in their pursuits. . . .

There we have it in plain terms: the industrial classes should have the same opportunities for higher education as the professional classes enjoy—a plain, honest plea for equality of opportunity.

Justin Morrill adopted Turner's phrase and in his Morrill Act made provision for the colleges whose purpose was to be "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life".

In the light of what we know of the discussion and agitation preceding the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862, there can be no doubt that the foremost objective was to give what Morrill himself termed "the sons of toil" opportunities for education equal to those available to the favored few.

Morrill, the Vermont Yankee, tariff expert, and custodian of the national capital's architectural heritage, has unfortunately come down to us as a rather cold, forbidding figure. Actually, he laced his public addresses with dry New England humor, which added a certain charming pungency to them. In his speech at the Massachusetts Agri-

cultural College on the 25th anniversary of the passage of his famous act, he had something to say about higher education at the time the land-grant colleges were established. He spoke of the great majority of mankind who had then been without access to more than the rudiments of education, and then commented:

If this uncounted and unrepresented multitude sought to acquire knowledge of more practical value in the voyage of life, they soon found that useful knowledge was often estimated in ancient and richly endowed institutions to mark the humble station of steerage passengers, while the august institutions assumed to provide alone for passengers in the cabin.

And then he added a criticism of the philosophy that education should be for a small elite alone in these words:

All persons, however humble their pursuits, become more valuable by education, more useful to themselves and to the community, and especially so where each one has a visible and responsible share in the government under which he lives.

No modern educational philosopher, with the benefit of the experience of three-quarters of a century since Morrill spoke, has phrased more eloquently the philosophy of the land-grant universities. All persons become more valuable by education, more useful to themselves and to the community.

It is abundantly clear, then, that the land-grant colleges were established to correct an existing inequality in educational opportunity. That inequality was first expressed in terms of vocations and professions—Turner and others pointed out that the agricultural and mechanical workers were not getting a fair shake when compared with the professions. This, they said, was unfair—and the American people, with their love of fair play and sympathy

from the farm or from a city home across the railroad tracks.

It would be regrettable if this were so. We dare not seek to fit ourselves to the pattern of a university referred to by Morrill, as described by a Harvard orator, as a place where nothing useful is taught, and where a man can make a living by digging Sanskrit roots.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the discussions to ensue in this conference will help us find our way out of this dilemma, show us how we can continue to perform our traditional function as land-grant universities and still maintain our academic standards and honor our scholarly traditions.

If there were time, it would be interesting to identify some of the other factors serving to impede us in the struggle to achieve true equality of educational opportunity in America, a struggle that is a part of a larger struggle for full equality in every field of human activity. However, the design of the conference is such that attention will be paid to these factors, so it should suffice only to mention some of them here.

My work with the Commission on Civil Rights has opened my eyes to the appalling extent that artificial considerations, principally racial, but not excluding community environment, family attitude, and economic circumstances, impose conditions of inequality upon talented youngsters who belong in college. It required a sizable volume to record the findings of our Commission in the field of higher education alone, so I could not hope to do justice to this phase of the question here today. I refer you to that report, and the education section of the Commission's 1961 report to the President and the Congress, for the unhappy details.

There are hopeful signs amid the current public discussion of the role

of higher education in our society, and how to meet its costs. The economists, for one thing, are beginning to report on some interesting studies on the economic value of higher education.

The publication of the Chase Manhattan Bank quoted earlier summarizes some of these studies by saying that the rate of return on investment in education is about the same as the rate of return on business investment. Then it adds: "What is more, the record shows that the growth in Gross National Product resulting from education has been sufficient to cover much of the cost of our school system despite the rapid rise in enrollment and expenditures. Thus, year-for-year as well as over time, a large part of the expenditure on education is self-financed."

That is what educators and friends of education have been saying for years, without quotable facts to back up their statements. Perhaps the economists will succeed now where we have failed in persuading business and industry that investment in education is a sound investment. Considering that most of the opposition to increased tax support for our colleges and universities comes from the business and industrial community, it would be a clear and decided gain if its leaders could be convinced that education benefits the community more than it benefits the individual.

There are other hopeful signs. The social scientists are beginning to expose to public view the intolerable situation existing in many communities, especially in the slums and near-slums, where everything works against the bright boy or girl who wants to go to college—community attitude, parental indifference, inadequate counseling, schools that for one reason or another are less than excellent.

people seeking higher education was farthest from Morrill's mind. In fact, his whole idea was to *endow* the people's colleges he envisaged as a means of making education both readily available and inexpensive.

In his speech at the Massachusetts Agricultural College in 1887, he put it thus:

The Land-Grant Colleges were founded on the idea that a higher and broader education should be placed in every state within the reach of those whose destiny assigns them to, or who may have the courage to choose industrial vocations where the wealth of nations is produced. . . . The design was to open the door to a liberal education for this large class at a cheaper cost from being close at hand. . . .

In this conference we are to discuss whether Morrill's dream of a good, liberal education available at cheaper cost to all who can benefit from it must be allowed to fade away, or whether we can keep it alive, bright and shining, in our time and in the future.

It is in this very area that the great and thriving land-grant colleges and universities of today, successors of those courageous, struggling institutions of a century ago, find one of their greatest challenges.

Restricted resources are forcing them into paths of action on which they would not willingly venture if they were uninhibited in their decisions. Most of them, consciously or unconsciously, are restricting educational opportunities to some degree. When there are operating funds and physical facilities to care for only a given number of students at an institution, certainly prudence and integrity demand that those best qualified by way of native intelligence and motivation be those who are admitted. The cutting score must be set somewhere.

There would not be so much uneasiness about all this if our tests and measures of ability and motivation were more reliable. But they are recognized as imperfect instruments at best, and it is to be doubted that any admissions officer in a large university in America can go to sleep at night satisfied that he has not denied admission to candidates who might have made the grade if given the chance.

The land-grant colleges and universities, for the most part, find themselves in a true dilemma here. On the one hand, they are obligated by philosophy and tradition not to deny educational opportunity to any who can profit by higher education, and on the other they are being forced by a number of circumstances to curtail their services. The times put a premium on brains, and all of us, encouraged by our faculties, are trying to attract the best possible students to our campuses. The quality of the entering freshman class, marked by high school rank or test scores, is something to boast about. It is the currently fashionable status symbol. And still there remains the nagging question: Are we fulfilling our mission when we raise the cutting score higher and higher? Are we, the exponents of equality in education, ourselves restricting opportunities by our selection policies? Are we diminishing, rather than enlarging, the area of opportunity in America?

Perhaps part of our difficulty arises from the fact that so many of the one-time small land-grant colleges having narrow fields of interest have developed with the years and in response to public demands into great, complex institutions. Perhaps a true university with its mandatory concern for graduate study and research cannot be as sympathetic as it once was to the needs of the lowly freshman fresh

values

four

Why Men and Nations Seek Success

DAVID C. MCCLELLAND

The component parts of both school and society are closely related. For example, while an economic system can provide the opportunities and incentives that encourage achievement values in a society, it is also true that the strong impulse to achieve, found in a rather virulent form in the so-called Protestant ethic and among the founders of our nation, also produced the will to exploit the natural environment and set up a high-powered industrial society.

Although the stridency of the Protestant ethic has been softened into a more social ethic, achievement has been, and is, a central component of the value system that guides the behavior of most Americans and produces the most notable successes and failures of our schools. McClelland discusses achievement motivation and suggests ways in which it can be cultivated.

What are executives like who have the drive to achieve? What makes them that way? Can a businessman build in himself a stronger need for accomplishment? Can he generate this spirit in his company?

These questions are answered in this interview by Dr. David C. McClelland, a foremost authority on the achievement motive.

He warns that the desire for achievement is declining in the United States and is on the rise in Russia. We must rejuvenate this drive to achieve in our

society, he declares, and the businessman is a natural example and champion for this cause.

Dr. McClelland, does the businessman strive for profit or is this just a measure of his drive for achievement?

In the terms of the ideal entrepreneur—the one who really builds a business successfully—I think profit is primarily the measure of achievement rather than the goal itself. I don't mean he doesn't like money. Everybody likes money. It's just that it's the sense of accomplishment that really means something to him.

The classic case is that of Andrew

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It is a happy circumstance that the author of one such study that is attracting much favorable attention—Patricia Cayo Sexton—will participate in one of the discussions this afternoon. I am sure she will have much to say on this point and will say it eloquently and forcefully.

Dr. Conant's book entitled "Slums and Suburbs" should be read by every thoughtful American. It dramatizes one of the gravest problems America faces in this decade.

I say these are hopeful signs because the American people are instinctively on the side of the underdog. That instinct led them to support Morrill and Turner and the other leaders in the fight for equality of opportunity in higher education a century ago, and it will lead them to do the right thing again if they know the true situation. Sometimes that instinct is blunted or dulled by extraordinary circumstances—political, social, or economic—but up to now the American people have usually made the right decisions and taken the right actions, and I am confident that they will continue to do so.

It is because of these hopeful signs, and my confidence in their instinctive good judgment that I am encouraged to predict that the land-grant colleges and universities of this era will meet the challenges of today with the same success as their predecessors met the infinitely more difficult challenges of a century ago. I have confidence that somehow we shall find a way out of

our financial difficulties. I believe we shall find a way to come ever closer to true equality of educational opportunity. I believe our universities and the secondary schools will find ways to discover and motivate the possessors of native ability now being allowed to go to waste. I believe, in short, that the land-grant philosophy as first put into practice a century and more ago is just as vital in the United States of today as it was in an undeveloped country just entering into the industrial age, wracked by internal dissension and still to find its rightful destiny.

I can offer no finer, more eloquent justification for faith and confidence that all will yet be well than the words spoken by Justin Morrill himself in justification of his own faith and philosophy:

We live in a Christian age, and do not ignorantly worship an unknown God. We accept it as a blessing that to Adam it was ordained, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." We rejoice in the fact that we live under a republican form of government, where all men are equal before the law, where the income of capital is not wholly dominant, where social conditions are not fixed by heredity, and where the rank of men depends upon *their own personally earned and individual merits.*

That was Justin Morrill's statement of faith. We could do no better than to adopt it as our own.

ones that start a business and keep it growing.

Is there a close relationship between the achievement drive and earnings?

Yes, but it's not terribly conclusive. It's affected by age and years of experience.

We studied relatively small companies and large companies. In large firms the need for achievement was associated with people in the \$25,000 pay range. People with less salary, whom you might regard as not so successful, had a lower need for achievement. So there was an increase from the lowest level of management to the middle level. But then further up in these corporations you get a decrease in the need for achievement. It's possible that the highest levels of management in large corporations don't require these entrepreneurial types so much as they require another type of person.

Another possibility is that these men are older and the need for achievement has declined with age.

What makes a person want to achieve things?

We trace it to the kind of upbringing a person had. You usually find that these people came from families in which the parents set high standards for their boys.

Secondly, the parents tend to be more encouraging, more rewarding.

And then, finally, and most importantly, a father doesn't suppress the boy's desire to do things on his own.

Their mothers can boss them around. That doesn't seem to matter so much. But not the father.

We find that parents tend to be influenced in how they're trying to bring up a boy by their values, their religious orientation or their feeling of being disadvantaged. We know that immigrants

generally feel a greater need to achieve. So we have tended to have a higher need for achievement than many other countries partly because of successive migrations.

Is achievement something that can be learned in a business or university development course, for example?

We think so.

My main research at the present time is in what we can do to produce an achievement motivation development course.

Obviously, it's long-range business to try to get parents to bring up their children differently. So we have devised a special course for business executives, to increase their desire to achieve.

The Human Resources Development Corporation was set up to run these courses initially for research purposes. We also are working closely with the International Marketing Institute at the Harvard Business School, and we will be giving some of our training courses through them. They have been training international businessmen for some time.

We have given courses here and in Mexico and India. In the United States we tried it out with a group of IBM executives first. They started out being quite critical but ended up being very enthusiastic, except—typical of IBM people—they condensed the course, because they were so busy, from three weeks to one week.

We have elaborate research studies to follow up on these people who have taken the course compared to a carefully matched control group which is made up of people who have not taken the course. But we are insisting on waiting about two years before we do a follow-up study to see what long-range effects there are.

Carnegie, who said he was going to quit when he made a million dollars. When he made a million he found that if he quit, there wasn't any fun left in life. He enjoyed the sense of challenge and risk and overcoming obstacles and getting somewhere. It wasn't just money.

What are the major traits of men with the drive to achieve?

Well, they like to take moderate risks, where they have the chance of succeeding. If it's too risky they don't succeed very often. So they pick a point where they get enough sense of accomplishment from having succeeded at a reasonably difficult task.

Another thing that characterizes them is they are very much interested in knowing how well they are doing. They like to work at a task that gives them a feedback of how well they are doing—profit margins, reduction in costs, the size of the market covered and so on.

Another characteristic they have is a desire to do things themselves. If somebody else does it they don't get this sense of achievement.

Finally, they are rather mobile people who look for challenges and new ideas. I have often been impressed, in talking to a group of businessmen, by their sense of physical energy. You can feel it in the room.

Our evidence shows that there is a tendency for mesomorphic boys—that is, well-developed little boys—to develop higher needs for achievement, possibly because they get more rewards in the difficult things they try to do physically.

Don't professional people seem to have this achievement trait as much as business people?

Some do. But their job doesn't require it to quite the same degree as an

entrepreneurial job does. I can give you examples:

Among professional people we find that the ones who are high in the need for achievement really behave in different ways, not necessarily more successful ways as the profession is defined.

In one of my studies I was following up what had become of college students 14 or 15 years after I had tested them. I found a guy who was an English teacher but who had a very high need for achievement. When I checked, I discovered that he had founded his own theater company in Austin. He was in business giving plays all over Texas.

You have to organize a company, get financial backing, pay people, go from town to town and be sure you've got an audience. It's an entrepreneurial job par excellence, and yet he's a professional man.

You see, you have two types of English teachers. I think this would be true of law or medicine, too.

In business, people who play it too safe are likely to end up without a job. That's not so true in the professions.

You get a professorship at a university and you've got it for life.

What kind of managers score highest in your achievement tests?

Salesmen, people who start their own business, consultants—jobs where you are essentially selling your services. Those are the main ones. Less entrepreneurial jobs include office managers, personnel managers, and labor-management relations, where the job is mainly one of mediating among conflicting pressures rather than going out and getting business.

Generally, we find that money managers tend to be low in the need for achievement. They are important people in business. But they are not the

ways that the ordinary teacher couldn't achieve through lectures.

But we have a lot to learn. I would like to emphasize that this is still a research enterprise and we are experimenting all the time with techniques that will speed up personality transformation. Most businessmen already are pretty strongly achievement-oriented. One place where we can show our effect most easily is in the underdeveloped countries where this type of talent is in short supply.

You mean we should supply values rather than money and know-how?

That's right, and this is precisely the revolution I would like to see in our foreign-aid approach—that if you are selling values and motives you are likely to get further with less money than if you simply give them the material and leave them with their old values. It is obvious by now that they often misuse the material wealth that you give them.

One of the paradoxes of history is that the Russians, because they are much poorer than we are, have had to export values rather than guns and butter. They export communism, which is very achievement-centered.

Is an achievement-centered person constantly getting ideas or thinking of ways to implement ideas?

Both. He is looking for a way of doing something better, faster, with less work; sometimes it's discovering a new angle. In essence, he goes out looking for challenges to his ingenuity.

How can a businessman create a spirit of drive and achievement in his company?

By making sure the goals of the company are clear to his subordinates, by giving proper recognition of achievement when people do achieve certain

goals. You have to create an atmosphere in which achievement is rewarded.

We made a study recently of two firms. One was well set up to reward the person with high achievement motivation. They moved up more rapidly and the company was growing very fast. We contrasted it with another firm which was run like an old-fashioned feudal estate in which the boss really controls everything and all the executives spend their time trying to avoid falling out of favor or, on the other hand, trying to ingratiate themselves with the boss. It was a very different atmosphere, and the company was actually standing still.

It's quite clear that top management can set the tone for the whole organization. If you don't have people with a high achievement motivation the business doesn't grow.

Is this drive tied to national economic growth?

It seems to be, in the sense that we found that if you code the degree of concern with achievement in popular literature, you find that where the concern for achievement is high in literature there tends subsequently to be a rapid rate of economic growth.

By popular literature, I mean everything from stories in children's readers that are used in the public schools, to street ballads or popular songs, and plays.

If there is a lot of concern for achievement abroad in the land, then it is more likely there will be more people in business with a high need for achievement, which will make business grow faster. And if businesses grow faster, the economy grows faster.

Is the U.S. becoming a more or less achievement-minded society?

Unfortunately, the evidence is pretty

Are there any preliminary results?

Not really. We have the kind of feed-back that encourages you but doesn't convince you. We have reports from men who have taken the course.

They say it's great.

All sorts of development courses are given which businessmen have been praising for a long time. But we wonder, what are the concrete results two years later? How are these people behaving differently from other businessmen who didn't have a particular course?

We're not satisfied with consumer satisfaction. Lots of men are saying, "It's the greatest thing that ever happened to me and my philosophy of life has changed—" and so on. But it's just too soon to know definitely.

Does this training involve considerable change of attitudes?

Yes. What we do first is to teach them what we mean by achievement. We have found that most people don't know how much of their time they spend thinking about achievement. If you ask them they say, "Oh yes, I am very interested in achievement." But if you actually tap into their thoughts by our testing technique, you find that in fact they do little achievement thinking.

Achievement thinking is very important for the success of the entrepreneur; if that is the kind of person he wants to be, that's the way he should be thinking.

First, people have to discriminate achievement thinking from power thinking, from affiliation thinking, from thinking about status and recognition, which are quite different things.

Then they put this into effect in a business game where they are required to take certain risks and make

decisions and conform in certain ways.

In the third stage they get a form of the Harvard case method. They attempt to re-think business problems out of their own lives in terms of how they would approach the problem from the achievement point of view. And then there is group discussion.

The fourth stage in the course involves an examination of one's life goals. It gets very personal. You begin to wonder, what kind of a person am I, and why am I really doing what I'm doing, and do I really want to be this kind of person or don't I? A few people, after they have been through this much self-examination and discovery of what achievement thinking is say, "I don't want to be that kind of person."

We had one man, in the Mexican course, who quit his job, which was a great accomplishment because he had been a terrible nuisance in the job. He had it only because his father, who ran the firm, made him executive vice president. He was absolutely unsuited by personality and interest for the job. His father knew this but felt he had to employ him. So his father bought him a chicken farm and now he's as happy as can be.

Isn't it difficult to train someone in three weeks?

It seems difficult to us, frankly. We are really using some quite unusual techniques. This three-week course involves the person totally in a re-examination of himself.

It is really a very intensive self-examination. We train by going down to the roots, examining them and re-thinking things thoroughly. We are, after all, clinical psychologists. We believe we have learned some things about personality change from clinical psychology and psychotherapy that may enable us to bring about change in

ways that the ordinary teacher couldn't achieve through lectures.

But we have a lot to learn. I would like to emphasize that this is still a research enterprise and we are experimenting all the time with techniques that will speed up personality transformation. Most businessmen already are pretty strongly achievement-oriented. One place where we can show our effect most easily is in the underdeveloped countries where this type of talent is in short supply.

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Is the U.S. becoming a more or less achievement-minded society?

Unfortunately, the evidence is pretty

clear-cut that our achievement motivation has been going down. Studies have shown that it was higher around 1890 or 1900 than it is now. This was the period when the Horatio Alger stories captured everybody's imagination. Most people tend to think this is pretty corny nowadays.

I have a study which needs some careful checking. But we did an analysis of popular literature, of what people were reading about and thinking about. We found that there was even a quite marked drop in achievement motivation between 1958 and 1961.

This study was done to compare our standing with the Soviet Union. It was difficult to get popular literature from Russia which is exactly comparable to ours. But the indication is that their achievement content is about double what it is in our popular publications.

Achievement motivation is going up in the Soviet Union and it is going down in the United States. The concern for power and thinking in terms of power has gone up in the United States as achievement interest has gone down. We are obviously more concerned about power matters now than we were, say in 1925.

What does that include? Power figures such as big labor, big government or big business?

It includes all activities involving control of people. It would include, in a sense, what is going on in civil rights at the present time, and of course all the political and economic power struggles.

This reflects the fact that the United States is involved in a number of power struggles. Oddly, we tend to see our competition with the Soviet Union somewhat more in power terms, and they seem to see it, within their totalitarian philosophy, in achievement terms. They say, "We're going to out-

produce you." And we tend to say, "We intend to control you and keep you from expanding."

I ought to make it clear that American motivation to achieve is still above the world average, although it has declined.

It is now about the same as the USSR. It's just that the trends are going in opposite directions. Theirs has been increasing; and ours, which was quite high, has come down.

Is the fact that government is growing larger partly responsible for this?

You've pinpointed another power struggle: Who is going to do it, the government or the private sector? This is seen very often in power terms, not so much in terms of who can do it better although that's the way the argument used to be fought.

Could it be that a highly industrialized country with a high standard of living has less need for achievement?

I don't think there's anything inevitable about it. But one rather simple theory which comes out of experimental psychology is that as things become easier for you, as there are fewer challenges around, you slack off in your achievement concern. We know that.

And, by analogy, I'd say that countries like England and the United States are getting older and more industrialized and there are fewer challenges.

The new nations, almost without exception, have got a lot to achieve.

Do you think businessmen feel a bit guilty about seeking profits as the symbol of success?

I've been in business and I'm on boards of directors and so on, and I've talked to a lot of businessmen. They will always put it in dollar terms:

"We're in business to make a profit." That's a shorthand way of saying, I am sure, that that is the evidence that they have done it well.

But I do think there is some guilt involved. They handle this in various ways—some of them defiantly. Some of them try to cover it up and say, you know, what's good for the company is good for the country and so on. There are various rationalizations.

But I'm sure that you have got to have some standard of excellence imposed, some quality control. In the business society, our quality control happens to be the profit and loss statement.

You think then that, even in a society with many satisfactions and needs met, the desire for achievement can be stimulated?

Yes, I think it can. It must be.

Many companies are encouraging people to keep going to school. They want to persuade kids to get technical training and not to drop out of high school, and to tell adults in the work force that they have got to keep going to school all their lives.

Now this is what I consider a terribly important thing to do, to keep raising people's levels of aspirations as to what they can do. Well, it would seem that business is the natural champion of achievement motivation.

Business does a lot of things along these lines; you know, Junior Achievement, and so forth.

But there's still a problem. I was talking with a fellow on a plane coming from Philadelphia. He said in Florida—and I think it's just as true in other places—that you can't get a skilled carpenter or a skilled plasterer or a really first-class craftsman. We think this really reflects the fact that in the so-called working class the level

of achievement motivation is pretty low. This means that you just don't meet the demand for really skilled people.

We have got a tremendous job on our hands. Working class people don't have to be low in their need for achievement, as they happen to be in the United States. They are not in Japan at the present time. We have done studies in Japan. We find that working class kids there have very high needs for achievement which, I think, accounts for some of the excellence of craftsmanship that now comes out of Japan. They may be somewhat more lacking at the top managerial level than they are in the skilled crafts. In the U.S., we've got awfully good people at the top, but not at the skilled craft level.

Can we regain our achievement drive on all levels?

Everything I have seen is rather discouraging at the present time. But, there is nothing inevitable. For example, England had a peak of achievement motivation about the time the New World was discovered, at the time of Drake. Then it had a decline that lasted about a century and then a tremendous rise again. There is no reason why once you've gone down you can't go up. The effort to send a man to the moon and explore outer space may be excellent from the point of view of raising people's aspiration level. This captures the imagination of the American people.

But unfortunately again it is too often phrased purely in terms of the power image, that we have got to get to the moon, not because of the great accomplishment, but we've got to get there before the Russians do.

Business executives can create a climate of achievement where people who work hard are rewarded. Promoting

people and paying them primarily in terms of seniority does not stimulate achievement.

And I think quality control is obviously a problem. Businessmen have to be concerned about the quality of their product and making sure that people are working up to standards.

There are some people who are more concerned about making a dollar than they are about making a product that is worth a dollar or doing a job worth their pay, to put it very bluntly. This certainly does not make for achievement-minded entrepreneurs or employees.

Why Go to School?

PAUL GOODMAN

Paul Goodman, social critic and essayist, has also published fiction and poetry and served on the faculties of many universities. His ideas, particularly as set forth in Growing Up Absurd, have gained wide currency and influence among university student activist groups. In this article he points to the absurdities in the values of school and society and again suggests that school may be of no value for many young people.

In 1900, 6.4 per cent of American 17-year-olds graduated from high school, and perhaps another 10 or 15 per cent would have graduated if they could have afforded it. This was not prestige-schooling, for only one in 400 went to college. Now who, in 1900, were the other 93.6 per cent? They were not called dropouts; they went on to every career, from shopkeeper, mechanic and farmer to big entrepreneur, author, politician and including engineer, architect, and even lawyer. My guess is that those who stayed in school, or would have stayed, were approximately Dr. Conant's 15 per cent of the "academically talented." Obviously with such students there would be no problem of blackboard jungles. The curriculum that they were taught was conservative but it could experi-

mentally evolve; it was culturally valuable in itself and also tended toward college entrance, hopefully for more and more students, as society could progressively afford it.

In 1960, however, 60 per cent of American youngsters were graduating from high school; and the others were now "dropouts." What occurred during this expansion? We merely, as usual, took an existing framework and aggrandized, standardized and bureaucratized it.

By and large, until, say, 1945, the expansion was fairly harmless. The underlying motives were noble, benevolent, or at worst foolish: a democratic ideal, the need to occupy the young increasingly excluded from the labor market, the quest for prestige. Certainly the affluent society could afford keeping the kids in school. The academic types were probably not much hurt—smart kids can adjust to any-

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thing, except being debauched by base rewards. And so long as the attitude was *easygoing*, the others did not suffer more than boredom. Unfortunately, however, there came to be established the misconception that being in school was the only appropriate way of being educated.

Academic talent, the ability to profit by going to school, is a special disposition, neither better nor worse than any other. It *does require good intelligence*; yet high intelligence, grace and inventiveness need not be academic at all. A school is fundamentally a box with seats facing front. (Visiting the schools as a member of a local board in New York, I found that the desks were no longer bolted to the floor, but they were still nicely lined up as of yore.) School implies studying and a long attention span, and it demands a verbal and book-loving disposition. "Curriculum" is, in principle, a set of abstractions from actual industries, arts, professions and civic activities, and these abstractions are brought into the school-box and taught. A good academic can, without altogether losing spirit, spend years working on such abstractions, which are of course fascinating in themselves if well organized and well analyzed. Yet for the majority of adolescents academic routine is time-wasting, unreal, dispiriting, desexualizing and destructive of initiative; and it is resisted by the usual devices of sabotage, by "subculture" and—on the part of the highly intelligent—by "underachievement," for they do not want to "achieve" in this way.

Suddenly in the past decade, however, there has begun a fantastic overestimation and bribery of the scholarly disposition, which has snowballed since Sputnik. It is a moral, emotional and intellectual disaster. Instead of the previous *easygoing* pace—with "enrich-

ment"—that was generally tolerable though rather stupid, there is strict grading, unscholarly speed-up, fierce competitiveness. The majority are entirely sacrificed for "education"; all must go to school—or drop out of the economy.

The damage is universal. Intelligent youngsters, whether bookish or non-bookish, can of course perform, but for the non-bookish the performance is a second-best activity and the achievement is fraudulent. The slower are tormented and humiliated. But in my opinion, the authentically scholarly are even more injured; the competition, the speed-up and the rewards create false values and destroy the meaning of their gifts. The studies are no longer presented as though they were intrinsically valuable. Bright youngsters "do" Bronx Science in order to "make" Harvard; but of course they also "do" Harvard. In fact, the motivation of society is narrow and anti-intellectual; it is to give, at public expense and eventually at the parents' expense, apprentice-training for the corporations and the armed forces. President Kennedy, in his 1963 message on education, explained to us the motivation to explore the unknown: it is "for economic, military, medical and other reasons"! (A professor of astronomy at Yale complained to me that, though his students included many excellent mathematicians who had "mastered" the subject, not one of them would be a good astronomer. How was that? "They don't love the stars," he said.)

Even if the speed-up, etc., were the social need, it is unnecessary. Given a decent atmosphere, the academically disposed will perform anyway, without the grading and competition. The creative, whether in the arts, sciences or professions, do not especially thrive by formal schooling; for some it is useful, for some it is harmless, for some

it is hurtful. Hopefully, an increasingly automated industry will require fewer, not more, second-rate-academic clerical and technical performers. The majority are being cruelly miseducated and hoaxed; they will not get jobs relevant to what they have been put through. Dropouts are cajoled by the promise of future rewards; but what if these amount, finally, to an increment of \$5 a week—is it worth the torture? Would a kid not be wiser to choose the streets, if only they would stop making him feel worthless?

As things are set up, of course, there is no alternative, there is no future for those without the school diploma. The urban poor must fight for better schools which will not fit most of them; rural youth must go to central high schools which are a waste of time for most of them, while they lose what competence and culture they have, that might have been developed into something useful; middle-class youth must compete and be tested to death to get into colleges where most of them will only cynically or doggedly serve time. The entire effort of serious educators ought to be to explore and invent other ways of educating than these schools, to suit the varieties of talent and to meet the needs of a peaceful future society where there will be emphasis on public goods rather than private gadgets, where there will be increasingly more employment in human services rather than mass-production, a community-centered leisure, an authentic rather than a mass-culture, and a citizenry with initiative rather than one increasingly bureaucratized and brainwashed.

The most plausible expedient for expanding education is to create enterprises that fulfill social necessities and can also be educational opportunities for youngsters. These would provide alternative choices instead of further

schooling, and we could spend on them some of the money now misused for schools. (It costs \$750 a year to keep a youngster in a New York high school.) There are plenty of educative opportunities: improving 50,000 ugly small towns; youth work camps in conservation and urban renewal; countervailing mass-communications with hundreds of little theaters, little radio, local paper; technical apprenticeships *within* the industries, paid by public and corporation, with the aim of making workmen who understand what they are doing and can be inventive; subsidizing small farms, to make them economically feasible and reverse the rural ratio to something nearer 30 per cent, instead of the present absurd 8 per cent; community service like Friends Service and Peace Corps. In such concrete activities, directly useful in society, millions of youth could find educational opportunity more tailored to their needs. Are they less cultural than the average classroom for the non-bookish kid?

Probably even more important educationally, adolescents could then try out, instead of being stuck on the present inexorable 12- to 16-year ladder of lessons and recitation (really a fantastic situation). Many "late-bloomers" might then choose to return to more formal academic study, their spirits not having been permanently blighted by schooling that was inappropriate to them and that they went through unwillingly. (The advantage of this was evident among many on the GI bill between 1945 and 1950.) For many others, who have chosen work-camps, farms or paid apprenticeships, but who then want a more liberal experience, we could copy the Danish Folk Schools designed for ages 18 to 25.

To sum up: all should be educated and at the public expense, but the

idea that most should be educated in something like schools is a delusion and often a cruel hoax. Our present way is wasteful of wealth and human resources and destructive of young spirit. The better way is to expand social needs that are also opportunities for education appropriate to different dispositions. Of course what I am

here proposing involves a radical change in our present false standards of prestige, status, and salary; it would be opposed by government, corporations, labor unions, and even the present urban poor who would consider themselves downgraded. It would certainly deflate the education business and require very different educators.

The Search for Challenge

DAVID RIESMAN

Trained as a lawyer, David Riesman has become an influential sociologist and advocate of the belief that rather explicitly articulated value systems are the indispensable cement for knitting a society together and making it possible for social institutions to serve individuals. The need for values that offer purpose, challenge, mastery, and a utopian vision he finds most pronounced among youth. These and related views about inner- and outer-directed personalities have been stated in his widely circulated works, The Lonely Crowd and Constraint and Variety in American Education.

I would be giving the wrong impression if I were understood to contend that there is no Utopianism in present-day America. There are first of all many conservative people, maybe some here, who find in the American past an adequate image for the future: they contend that if only we balanced our budgets, spanked our kids, worked hard and uncomplainingly, tore down all the teachers colleges—all would be well. And there are many others who find in the huge distance we still have to travel toward economic, and especially toward racial equality, enough challenge for their lifetimes—and in a sense it is enough. Likewise, the effort of the Communist bloc to overtake

America has given still other Americans of both major parties the short-run aims of a coach whose all too confident team has lost a game—the feeling that with a little discipline and locker-room talk, along with better scouting and recruiting for scientists, all will be recouped. Perhaps the major benefit thus provided for Americans is the renewed conviction that there is a game and that winning it can give meaning to life. In my opinion none of these, not even the generous one of getting rid of the residues of inequality, is sufficient to mobilize social energies to take the next obscure steps in American life that would bring us a measure of international security and more adequate social goals for an age of plenty.

In this situation many of the most

From David Riesman, *Abundance for What?* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964).

sensitive and truly disinterested young people have given up the larger societal goals to pursue what I might call the Utopianism of private life. It is in the family first of all, and beyond that in the circle of friends and neighbors, that one looks for Jeffersonian simplicity, an idyll of decency, generosity, and sensibility. Much of the confusion in current discussion is due to failure to distinguish between the high quality of these personal goals of young people and the low quality of our social aims. That is, if one is looking at the texture of individual life in America, this country is harboring, despite all surrounding miasmas, extraordinarily fine enclaves whose tone, though not ascetic, has something in common with the outlook of Utopian colonies in the last century, or with Hopi pueblos, or with the spirit of some of our great nineteenth-century dissidents, whether Melville or Whitman, William James or Bellamy. In many past epochs of cultural greatness the dichotomy between an avant-garde few and the brutalized many was taken for granted and would occasionally perpetuate itself for long periods. But in the United States today the contrast between the private Utopianism that I have spoken of and the general low level of vision in the general population and in its political activities seems to my mind both less tolerable and less viable for the long term. With the growth of interdependence within and between nations, private virtues, if they do not actually become public vices, become almost irrelevant—beautiful gardens at the mercy of fallout. I don't expect every young person to take part in the development of a more inclusive Utopia than "familism," but I would like to see a better proportion achieved between private and public visions; indeed, I believe that private life would be enriched and in

a way become more meaningful if the two spheres were both more forcefully cultivated.

When I spent a summer in the Soviet Union twenty-seven years ago, I met many eager young Communists who had enthusiastically junked all private aims in the communal enterprise of "building socialism." Amid a Philistine culture made desolate with slogans, they were building socialism in an all too literal sense, i.e., they were building dams, railroads, factories, and machine tractor stations and Communist Party apparatus. They brought to their work the zeal of pioneers and, as a blueprint for their own activities, the model of American industrial achievement. At the Stalingrad tractor plant, then barely beginning to produce, I saw fanatical young Stakhanovites (I guess the term "Stakhanovite" is unknown to many undergraduates today; that is a kind of Russian version of an Eagle Scout) working with tremendous zeal in the midst of a mass of sullen peasants, new to industry and by no means reconciled to its restrictions. I had gone over with a group of American students, some of whom found this spectacle in contrast to the America of the depression marvelously exhilarating. It was a battle with simple rules and clear goals, or so it seemed, and, in fact, the reports from Stalingrad in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* were couched in the language of battle—so many tractors had been turned out that week on the Stalingrad front, or there were that many defeats in the battle for electrification, and so on. I thought then, and I still think now, that the tasks confronting Americans are more exhilarating but also more problematical. It would be child's play for us to build the Turk-Sib Railway or the Dneprostroi Dam, although, as I shall indicate later, every child should have this opportunity.

We have to make our own model of the future as we go, in a situation which is new historically.

Young children are somewhat less firm in their control of and by the given ways of seeing reality, and I want now to turn from the general and cross-cultural problem I have been discussing, of how one finds or how one fails to find a new vision, to the genetic one, that is, to see what forms of challenge can be expected in the different ages of man from childhood to maturity. Observers of children's play, such as Piaget and Erik Erikson, have commented on children's desire for mastery, the integrative quality of much play. The studies of these men lend some support to the belief that children at certain stages of development can be freer in their aesthetic sensibility and their formation of concepts than in earlier more literal, and later more conventional stages. Other students of childhood (notably Ernest Schachtel in his paper "On Memory and Childhood Amnesia") have noted the ability of great artists, such as Proust or Paul Klee, to recapture the codifications of childhood without going crazy: ability, that is, to retranslate the freedom and imagination of childhood into adult terms. Percival Goodman, an architect, and Paul Goodman, a novelist, have shown that kind of freedom and imagination in their neglected and out-of-print book *Communitas*, where they employ the traditions of Utopian thinking and the customs of other cultures to create several kinds of social and architectural designs for the future of America. In fact, they employ the model of children's play in much of their discussion. But I don't know any case where a researcher has systematically asked children before their teens to depict the sort of world they would like to live in, that they would find exhilarat-

ing, or invented a game which would call on their conceivable abilities for making cultural kaleidoscopes. (We have, of course, games which children play which simulate the adult world as it is, such as Monopoly, and *Mad* magazine recently suggested that children might also play other adult games, for instance, "alimony"—player who reaches Reno first wins—"draft dodger," and "make-out"—in which boy chases girl. Here once more the macabre is easier to evoke than the Utopian.)

Moving on now from children and adults, I want to mention one example of approaching Utopia through the techniques of social science—an example that, I fear, shows how little these techniques can contribute at present. I have in mind a recent study done at The University of Michigan for the Michigan Bell Telephone Company in which a group of articulate adults were invited to let their imaginations roam free, and to tell trained interviewers what sort of things they would like to see in the "world of tomorrow." Out of 126 interviews, mainly with well-educated respondents, there were, in fact, few suggestions which were at all visionary. Respondents want a machine which will bring them the morning newspaper from the doorstep. They want conveyor-belt highways and drive-in supermarkets and automatic car controls. They want a personal air-conditioning unit inside their clothes. (This reminded me of Aldous Huxley's novel *Antic Hay*.) Or they want a machine which will bring them any sight, sound, smell, or climate they choose without having to go out to find it. They want to be able to bring back fond memories at will, and to erase annoyances at will. One wants a device to look a doctor over without going to his office, another a device to make it

easy to complain to a supercilious sales person, or another a gadget to allow one safely and anonymously to bawl out somebody. One wistfully asks, and here is one of the few quasi-political suggestions, for some means of making suggestions to the legislative government (that's his term) and still another says, "I want to be able to visit relatives and friends without missing church." One wants "more variety in my daily living—a surprise every day."

If such wishes can be called Utopian at all, they are once more very private; they are seldom connected with any plan for the development of the individual's powers, let alone any plan for society more extensive than that of the person who wanted

whole cities covered with plastic to keep out the weather. Many of the suggestions represent what I have sometimes called the cult of effortlessness. I speak of it as a cult, for I don't believe that most Americans not presently overworked seek this nirvana with steady passion. But it is striking that in the interviews, and perhaps reflecting their relaxed form, no one seems to wish for obstacles, for challenges, for things that take time and require effort.

Children assuredly are seldom like that unless they are sick: they are often a problem for parents and other adults, and for people who have to enforce parental rules too, because they have energy to burn. . . .

Thought Reform: Ideological Remolding in China

HARRIET C. MILLS

Even when organized democratically, education is in some measure indoctrination. Every school has its preferred value system, every teacher his moral biases. Inevitably, though often unconsciously, these affect the shape of curriculum, the weight given ideas presented, methods used for instruction, requirements drawn to govern admission, and standards of student achievement.

American schools, however, have rather broadly defined the value system to which teachers are expected to conform. Protestants, Catholics, Jews and—if sufficiently discreet—agnostics and athiests may teach in the American system. So too may Democrats in communities where Republicans are dominant or Republicans in Democratic communities. In higher education, even a few Socialists and Communists openly espouse their favorite doctrines. It is not uncommon, however, for children who belong to sects outlawing patriotic fealty to find themselves in trouble for refusal to salute the flag, though the courts have supported their right to refuse. Jews periodically find themselves in conflict with Christian school authorities who seek to impose acceptance of their value system on the school community, and teachers are sometimes ousted for refusing to take loyalty oaths.

Harriet C. Mills, "Thought Reform: Ideological Remolding in China," *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1959, pp. 71-77.

Nonetheless, the American school is only secondarily an instrument for indoctrination and does permit a wide and varying interpretation of its accepted value system. By contrast, in totalitarian societies education is frankly regarded as the occasion for ideological indoctrination. How instruction in the narrow value system of a new social order is carried on in the largest of the authoritarian states is here examined by Mills.

For the past ten years the Chinese Communists have been conducting the greatest campaign in human history to reshape the minds of men. No other Communist or authoritarian state, not even the Soviet Union, has ever equaled the scope and intensity of the Chinese Communist effort.

The Chinese Communists believe that thought determines action. Thus, if 650 million Chinese can be brought to think "correctly," they will act "correctly" along lines the Chinese Communist Party considers essential for the creation of its version of a socialist China, to become at some distant date a Communist society in a Communist world.

The Chinese Communists are attempting to remold the mind as well as the face of China. Their approach combines standard techniques of the authoritarian state with a system of their own invention. Like any authoritarian state, the People's Republic of China has the power to enforce its edicts and protect official ideology by absolute control of education and all regular mass media. A vast supplementary network of village radio receivers and loudspeakers, housetop megaphone recasts, and door-to-door agents of oral propaganda carries official news, slogans, rousing songs, and propaganda skits to the illiterate in remote rural areas. In the familiar pattern of modern authoritarian societies, the whole population is thoroughly organized. Virtually every individual belongs to one or more mass organiza-

tions built around his age, residential, trade, or professional group.

However, the Chinese Communists are well aware that, effective as such regimentation may be in conditioning habits of action and response, it does not necessarily achieve genuine reorientation. They know that only if people are truly persuaded of the justice and correctness of the Communist position will they release their spontaneous creative energy and cooperate, not from necessity but from conviction. To accelerate this persuasion the Chinese Communists have developed group study, or *hsieh-hsi*, in which everyone must participate—peasant, ex-landlord, city dweller, artisan, worker, peddler, merchant, housewife, producer, industrialist, even the political prisoner. Group study is a unique means for achieving critical rejection of old ideas in favor of new ones and a powerful weapon for ideological remolding.

Two main lines of experience have gone into group study, one Chinese, one Communist. During their twenty-odd years as guerrilla fighters, the Chinese Communists stumbled, through necessity, on one basic element of what is now group study. In teaching uneducated peasant recruits to use weapons, obey commands, live together, and protect the country people, the Communists gradually found that small discussion groups were the best way to make sure each man understood not only how but why. These small groups went patiently over all ques-

tions, objections, or counter-suggestions until the best method had been found and agreed upon. To the peasantry, on whom the army depended for support and cover, the Communists likewise explained their rural improvement program, rent reduction, land redistribution, public health, and literacy. Thus, they persuaded the peasants that it was to their advantage to cooperate in resisting Japan or the Kuomintang. The high morale of the guerrilla areas justified the Communists' approach.

The second objective in group study—namely, the study of Marxist theory and the discipline of criticism and self-criticism—has long been standard practice in Communist cells around the world. Out of the gradual fusion of these two traditions—Chinese persuasion and Communist dogma—contemporary group study has evolved as the ubiquitous working mechanism of thought reform in China.

Today every office, factory, shop, school, cooperative, commune, military or residential unit in China is divided into ostensibly voluntary small study groups of about six to twelve persons. Under elected leaders, approved by the authorities, these groups are required to meet regularly to discuss government policies, Marxist theory, or whatever has been mapped out for discussion by the central Party and government organs directing the nationwide group-study program. The function of these small study groups is to persuade members of the validity of the official position by bringing their thinking into line with that of the Party. Complex interplay of psychological and personal factors gives the technique its special character and power.

First, the study group is official. The leader represents and reports to higher authorities. Every member knows that

evaluation of his thinking as reactionary, backward, bourgeois, apolitical, progressive, or zealous materially affects his future for better or for worse.

Second, everyone must express an opinion; there is no freedom of silence. In a small, intimate group, whose members know each other well and work and sometimes even live together, it can be very embarrassing to express an incorrect idea, yet over a long period it is virtually impossible to dissemble.

Third, parroting theory or the official line is not enough. Nor is mere intellectual acknowledgment of the reasonableness of the stipulated position sufficient. The important thing is to apply correct theory so as to discredit one's previous incorrect conceptions so thoroughly in one's own eyes that one gladly discards them and accepts the new. It is not sufficient for one to come to the genuine intellectual position that landlords were bad for China, yet maintain that not all landlords, one's father or a friend, perhaps, were bad. This proves unresolved sympathy with the old order. Nor can one honestly believe that America had been aggressive in China and yet feel that the U.S. system of elections is more democratic than China's. This proves insufficient understanding of the nature of the capitalist-imperialist system, which, if predatory abroad, could hardly be benign at home. Likewise, it proves unresolved pro-Americanism, which by extension becomes general sympathy with the West and therefore hostility to the Communist Party in China.

For an intellectual to admit that labor—mental and physical—is the origin of all wealth, the root of all progress, and yet be reluctant to participate in an allotted span of agricultural work proves he still retains elements of bourgeois prejudice against manual labor

and is therefore still bourgeois. Raising the level of one's political consciousness through group study is considered a lifelong process. Not even Mao Tse-tung is beyond improvement.

The weapon the group uses is criticism. The ideas of each member are criticized by the others against the correct standard. In this way, everyone is forced actively to apply that standard to someone else's problem and is not permitted simply to receive it passively. The individual who is cooperative, who satisfies his fellows that he is really examining and gradually modifying his views, is "helped" in a quiet, reasoned, and friendly manner, for his attitude is good. One who stubbornly insists on maintaining his original position, who says, if not overtly, at least in effect, "I know all your arguments, but I still think I'm right," is treated as an enemy of the group, subject to intense, prolonged criticism of his attitude as well as his thoughts. Helping him may even take the form of "struggle" or verbal assault (*tou-cheng*) a humiliating combination of loud criticism interlarded with sarcasm, epithet, and—very rarely—with minor violence. It involves ostracism by, but not escape from, members of his study group and even the threat of public verbal assault before several small groups or an entire organization. Nor can the one being helped find solace among other friends or relatives, for in China a thought problem is serious. Everyone must help to solve it. No one ventures to prolong the agony by dangerous sympathy.

Self-criticism is as important as, if not more important than, criticism. One cannot merely reveal his thoughts. He must detail convincing reasons why he thinks they are wrong. Only thus, it is argued, can he avoid continuing to think and therefore to act in the old, incorrect way. If his fel-

lows feel his self-criticism is genuine, though not profound, they will—again with reason, quiet, and friendliness—help him to see more deeply into his problems. If, however, they feel his self-criticism is a ruse adopted to ward off criticism, the offender will be vigorously helped and, if necessary, subjected to verbal assault until his fellows are convinced that he has begun to see the light.

What are the factors which tend to make group study, tense and painful as it often is, effective? First, there is the essential human need to belong, to achieve and maintain emotional balance. To be unprogressive in China is not simply a political verdict; it is social suicide as well. Second, the constant repetition of correct ideas and particularly the application of them to the public analysis of one's own and others' problems mean that one is forced to give them detailed scrutiny. The Communists are conscious of the value of this. "From habit or pretense," they say, "it may become real." Third—and this is all too often neglected by outside observers—is the crusading idealism, the strong moral note, that runs through all discussion of political, social, and economic steps. Since it is obviously right that China should be made new and strong to assume its long overdue place as a major power, it is right to collectivize so as to mechanize and increase agricultural production. It is right to be Spartan and not demand higher wages so more effort can go into new plants, right to report opposition to the Party that is bringing medicine, schooling, and security to half a billion peasants, right to resist the "aggressive designs" of the United States in Korea, right that women should be emancipated. Fourth, there is the universal knowledge, as the highest spokesmen of the Party have frankly admitted, that in

the long run no course but the correct one is open. Attempts to avoid the tensions of group study by tacit compact to go through the routine or to stick to pleasantries are blocked not only by the fact of the leader's relations with the authorities but by the ever-present possibility that some member, whether motivated by genuine change of heart or by a selfish attempt at winning official favor, might report the group. Thus, there is tremendous pressure both to fall in line and to want to fall in line.

Most important of all, however, is a sense of nationalism, a patriotic pride in China's new posture of confidence and achievement. That China, which in 1948 was economically prostrate under runaway inflation, maladministered by a weak and corrupt government totally dependent on American aid, incapable of producing motorcycles, much less automobiles, can now fight the United Nations to a draw in Korea, maintain the world's fourth largest air force, produce trucks, jet planes, even establish a nuclear reactor, is an intoxicating spectacle to the Chinese. This pride, in turn, has generated a remarkably effective and spontaneous code of public honesty, courtesy, and civic sense unknown in the old China. To be asked whether an incorrect idea is really worthy of the new China can make one feel guilty. Thousands have asked themselves, "What right have I to disagree with those who can achieve so much?" As a professor of English, remembering China's internal disintegration and international humiliation, explained to me in the spring of 1951, "Now we can again be proud to be Chinese!"

This man, a master of arts from Yale, had taught in an army language program at Harvard during World War II and knew and liked America. No left-wing enthusiast, he was slow

in making up his mind about the Communists in the early period of their power, but as they brought the country under control, licked inflation, improved material conditions in the universities, and dared abrogate the unequal treaties, he proudly identified himself with the new China. For him, group study was stimulating. He looked on it as accelerating the weeding out of his undesirable bourgeois liberalism and promoting the growth of new socialist thinking. He had once enjoyed *Animal Farm*, but by mid-1951 he rejected 1984, though his wife, a graduate of an American university in Shanghai, did not.

The valedictorian of the class of 1948 at the same university—the last class to graduate before the Communist take-over—was a brilliant student of international affairs. His English was good, his French and Japanese serviceable. His burning idealism had led him as a high school student into Christianity. Later, at the university, it led him into the student movement, which, in the last years before the fall of the Kuomintang, was dominated by the left. For months after the Communists came in, he was deeply troubled. His patriotism thrilled to the assurance and vitality of the Communists. Other aspects of his being cringed at their attack on habits and patterns of thinking which he subscribed to, including his Christianity.

One hot summer day he came to see me. "I have studied and studied," he said, using the Chinese term *hsüeh-hsi*, "and thought and thought. I have begun to feel there is more good in the Communist Party than in the Christian church. If I can satisfy myself on this score, I shall join the Party." Shortly afterwards he told me that he had. "Now that you are a Party member," I asked, "do you think group study is still worth your while?"

"Oh, yes," he replied, his eyes burning with infectious enthusiasm, "it is indispensable."

Group study can even be exhilarating, particularly for those who, having been heavily criticized or struggled against, admit the error of their ways and are readmitted to the fellowship of the group. My good friend, a young former YWCA secretary, is only one example. Daughter of a Japanese-trained optometrist, she had graduated from the Catholic University in Peking about the end of World War II. A Protestant, she went to work for the YWCA and soon became close to young American students and diplomatic personnel who returned to Peking after the war. Transferred away for a while, she returned to Peking in early 1950 and joined the Central Relief Agency of the People's Government. She was miserable. She welcomed the material advances of the Government but felt that the price, in terms of regimentation, controlled thought, required group study, anti-Americanism, and the like, was too high. "I will go anywhere in the world," she used to remark, "where there is no group study."

Intrinsically honest, my friend's reservations about the regime were all too obvious. She could not fit into, and was therefore cut off from, the mainstream of Chinese life. Her Chinese friends pleaded with her to reconsider her attitude, particularly her relations with me, since by early 1951 I was known to be under suspicion. Her Western friends, knowing there was little possibility for her to leave China, were forced to urge her to compromise. But she remained fiercely loyal to her standards and her friends. For this she eventually landed, on my account, in the same prison cell with me.

In prison, as outside, she soon won the respect of wardens as well as pris-

oners for her honesty and courage. She did not pretend. Her kindnesses to me, whom the Communists had arrested as an American spy, were unobtrusive, but if discovered she courageously admitted them. For the first time in her life, she met people from many walks of Chinese life, people who, unlike herself, were uneducated, had had no contact with foreigners, people who were wholly and completely Chinese. Some had accomplished amazing things against incredible odds. She began to see a new dimension to her native land, to feel its hope lay within itself. She no longer felt that China was somehow inferior to the West. She began to discover her Chinese identity. But her habits of mind, her desire to look at both sides of a question, to undertake impartial inquiry, her reluctance to be regimented, and particularly her loyalty to her old friends died hard and she was on one or two occasions briefly struggled against.

The result which I watched was a sort of catharsis. Her point of view changed and with it her evaluation of past friends and associations. She remained as courageous, fair, and honest as ever, but her frame of reference was new. The joy and good feeling within the cell group that had helped her were enormous and vital. The helpers rejoiced at a black sheep brought home. She rejoiced at the psychological relief of having achieved spiritual integration. Very positive feelings of identification with and gratitude toward the small group and the larger society beyond followed.

From time to time, all means of state propaganda, including the group-study mechanism, focus the thinking of the entire nation on specific economic, political, or ideological questions in great campaigns or movements. These campaigns are building

the long run no course but the correct one is open. Attempts to avoid the tensions of group study by tacit compact to go through the routine or to stick to pleasantries are blocked not only by the fact of the leader's relations with the authorities but by the ever-present possibility that some member, whether motivated by genuine change of heart or by a selfish attempt at winning official favor, might report the group. Thus, there is tremendous pressure both to fall in line and to want to fall in line.

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One hot summer day he came to see me. "I have studied and studied," he said, using the Chinese term *hsüeh-hsi*, "and thought and thought. I have begun to feel there is more good in the Communist Party than in the Christian church. If I can satisfy myself on this score, I shall join the Party." Shortly afterwards he told me that he had. "Now that you are a Party member," I asked, "do you think group study is still worth your while?"

give one's heart to the Party followed.

Campaigns of explanation put the major emphasis on the Communist theory which makes impending economic or political changes both inevitable and just. A few movements, like the early campaign for the Stockholm Peace Appeal or the current Hate America campaign, are basically ideological in intent, unrelated to any impending change. Others, like the famous Resist America, Aid Korea movement, are designed both to discredit and to mobilize.

Physical labor plays a major role in thought reform in China. Invoking Marxist insistence on the dignity of labor as the origin of all value and wealth, the Communists strive to counter strong traditional Chinese scorn for manual labor. They are determined to negate a fundamental tenet of Chinese thinking formulated by Confucius 2500 years ago: "Who works with his mind rules; who works with his hands is ruled." Reform by labor goes hand in hand with reform through study in the rehabilitation of prisoners and landlords. In Peking political prisons, the right to labor comes only after a certain level of reform through study has been achieved.

Intellectuals, city office workers, and government cadres, merchants, capitalists, and students have long been urged to do voluntary labor on weekends and holidays. In a tremendous attempt to break down prejudice toward labor and increase appreciation of the leadership of the proletariat, during the past couple of years there has been regular assignment of large groups for extensive periods to agricultural and factory work.

How effective has ideological remolding been? No simple answer is possible, for it varies with and within different segments of the population. The Communists stress that thought

reform is a long, arduous task which has just begun; even in theory, the perfect mentality which needs no reform must wait on a perfect society.

Particularly in the early years of the regime, the degree of organization for indoctrination through study differed sharply, from very loose among the peasants to very tight in well-defined bodies, like offices, factories, schools, and the military. Once the cooperatives were set up in the countryside, more intensive group study became possible, bringing peasants in many ways very positively into the pattern of national life. But, as a recent official summary admitted, many peasants did not clearly grasp the relation between the state, the cooperative, and the individual household; some still harbored "individual and group exclusiveness, which disregard national and collective interests." Some well-to-do peasants sabotaged or competed against the cooperative and resisted state grain policy. Unless a high level of political and social consciousness can be developed and maintained among the peasants, it is possible that, as communes are set up and proprietorship becomes more impersonal, they will be no more interested in working for the commune than they were for the landlord but will save their best efforts for their recently guaranteed private plots.

Among workers, the Communists claim—and reports tend to confirm—the ideological situation is generally good. But the influx of other than working-class elements into the labor force has led the Communists to call for a drive to help workers "recognize that they must, under the leadership of the Communist Party, constantly raise their own social consciousness . . . develop the excellent tradition of working hard, maintain the noble character of being just and selfless, work hard in production, save, and

blocks in the monolithic orthodoxy which the Communists are determined to erect. Roughly, they fall into two categories. The primary purpose of one type is to discredit some existing idea, group, or system inimical to Communist ends. The second category aims to explain some program about to be enacted or some theory the Communists feel must be universally understood.

Campaigns usually begin with a series of articles and editorials in newspapers. Since newspaper reading is a political obligation in China and items of the day are often taken up in study groups, a subject which has received more than usual attention will begin to be discussed. Thus, a demand is created for further study, for which the materials and instructions are soon forthcoming. The campaign, which may last several months, is launched.

When the aim is to discredit, the initial articles will be exposés of the evil to be attacked. Some person, group, or catchword is made into a symbol. Every organization, office, factory, school, military unit, and so forth then embarks on an intense campaign of its own to find examples within its ranks. If concepts like bureaucracy, commandism, extravagance, timidity, and the like are under fire, flagrant manifestations of these are certain to be found in every organization, and most individuals will confess to similar tendencies in themselves. Serious offenders are required to examine their thoughts to uncover what causes them to act thus. Those whose examination is unsatisfactory are brought before a public meeting of the organization, which may turn into a struggle meeting. Depending on the nature of the campaign, the offense, and the outcome of organizational help, they may be remanded to a period of reflection, supervision, special full-time study, or,

in serious cases where criminality is involved, to prison, where intensive thought reform and punishment are combined. The aim is *redemption through criticism*. Mass accusation meetings administering summary justice to landlords and counter-revolutionaries were used, particularly in the early years of the regime, in connection with campaigns to educate the public.

In campaigns like those against counterrevolutionaries, it is not suggested that every organization harbors a traitor. However, each study group will discuss not only the facts as presented by the Government but also what sort of thought could have produced such actions. The group will then proceed to look for traces of the same in themselves. Thus, a campaign against counterrevolutionaries provides education along many lines. Showing how counterrevolutionaries serve the exploiting classes raises the whole issue of class and the nature of the class struggle. Betrayal of the common good, as embodied in the state, by counterrevolutionaries becomes an object lesson in the meaning and duty of citizenship; enemies of the state, be they friends or relatives, must be reported. The difficulty of ferreting out counterrevolutionaries emphasizes the need to cultivate a high level of political consciousness. Promulgation of the statutes for dealing with counterrevolutionaries dramatizes the fact that harsh treatment and death are reserved for those who do not repent and reform. For those who confess and are penitent, there is leniency. So, too, the 1957-1958 anti-rightist and rectification campaign was used to educate the nation still further on the correctness of the Party in all things. Criticisms voiced during the Hundred Flowers period earlier in 1957 were refuted and discredited. A new movement to

Korea campaign and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association was supposed to help change their sympathy with the West to admiration for the Soviet Union. It is hard to assess just how successful these moves have been, but it should be noted in passing that the hardening American position toward China in the last ten years has not encouraged America's sensitive and nationalistic friends there and has unwittingly played into Communist hands.

After two years of gentle courting, the Communists stiffened the ideological remolding of the intelligentsia in late 1951. Thousands were concentrated in special centers for reform, and the group study of others was greatly stepped up. The hard line continued into 1955. By 1956, the Party had become seriously disturbed by the negative response of the intellectuals chafing under brusque dogmatism, the arrogance of ignorant cadres, and time-consuming group study and public meetings. Chou En-lai, admitting errors in handling intellectuals, estimated that only 40 per cent actively supported the regime. Relaxation followed. The Government materially improved living and working conditions of the intellectuals, treated them with polite respect, urged them to speak out—even to criticize—freely and frankly. The intellectuals were grateful but wary.

Finally, after more than a year of gentle prodding and watchful waiting, the Hundred Flowers of criticism bloomed widely for one brief month from May 8 to June 8, 1957. One after another, intellectuals delivered scathing attacks on monolithic Party power, the identification of Party and state, the sham of coalition government with minor parties, the incompetence and arrogance of Party cadres. Intellectuals complained of high but powerless posts, of the damaging ef-

fects of Party interference with education and research, and of something not limited to Communist societies—denial of access to research data for reasons of security. They questioned the infallibility of Marx-Leninism. They called the Party incompetent to lead in science, education, and the arts. They declared that Party bureaucracy is worse than capitalism. Forceful as the criticisms were, they were not aimed at the overthrow of the Government. Rather, they aimed at making it genuinely democratic, with democratic safeguards and a sharing of political power. The intellectuals in essence demanded a separation of Party and government, of Party and technical endeavor.

Communist response was swift. Critics were automatically identified as rightists, and rectification campaigns were launched. In late 1957, prominent critics were forced to make public confessions and were dismissed from office, but apparently not imprisoned or executed. Lesser voices confessed and repledged their support of the Party. Nineteen fifty-eight brought a new and, in many ways, unprecedentedly rigid orthodoxy. In January, 1959, a high official concluded that the intellectuals were dragging their feet, generally tired of self-remolding.

Because tired and resentful intellectuals do not release their full creative power, the tack in early 1959 has veered once again toward persuasion. Many dismissed in 1957 were reinstated, although there have been recent indications of a new tightening up. "We must conduct long, recurrent, patient, delicate, and persuasive education." At least another decade—perhaps much longer—will be required, Party spokesmen emphasize, because bourgeois intellectuals are not just those left over from the old society whom the attrition of time could re-

economize." Note that the word "raise," not "reform," is used, because under the theory that makes workers leaders of any Communist revolution, working-class mentality is, by definition, correct.

Resistance to ideological remolding has been strong among what the Communists call the "bourgeoisie" and the "bourgeois intellectuals." Both are very broad terms. "Bourgeoisie" covers roughly all private business above a one-man show, and well-to-do peasants. "Bourgeois intellectual" means not so much egghead as all students, technicians, and specialists beyond the high school level, scientists, professional men, and university personnel. From the beginning, the Communists, realizing that these groups, who generally had had the largest stake in the old order, would prove more troublesome, have given special attention to their reform.

Destruction of the bourgeoisie through the reform of its members has been declared a basic tenet of the revolutionary program. Thought reform, therefore, involves turning them into willing pallbearers at their own funeral. The 1951-1952 Five Anti Campaigns (against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and leakage of government economic secrets), designed to discredit the irresponsible selfishness of production for private profit, greatly weakened the economic position of the bourgeoisie. For many months they were required to study, examine, and confess with special intensity the errors of their thinking and conduct. Since 1953, a body established to deal with the bourgeoisie and pave the way for their compensated integration into the socialist economy has conducted thorough ideological education, urging the need to abide by law, the acceptance of socialist trans-

formation, the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, and patriotism. The group has continually organized the bourgeoisie for participation in patriotic and social movements. But though the bourgeoisie did not resist the socialist transformation of 1956, they have not been reformed, at least in areas touching on their economic role. The Communists candidly state that the majority have come to realize there would be no way out by opposing the proletariat. But they admit that most of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals "are unwilling to accept the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party."

Most difficult of all to refashion have been the higher intellectuals—scientists, professors, and the like. They have the knowledge and the skills which the Communists lack and need, but have little patience with Communist dogmatism and interference. Communist policy toward this strategic group in the past decade has consistently aimed at securing most effective utilization of its knowledge. Zigzagging steadily toward this goal, the Communists have now attacked, now united, now criticized. Meanwhile, they are recruiting their own Red intellectuals, but have not yet had time to train a new group both Red and expert.

The importance and recalcitrance of the intellectuals, largely Western-oriented and often American-trained, have subjected them to more intense and sustained reform than that applied to any other section of the population. Like everyone else, they have gone through a decade of group study. As many came from landlord families, they were sent to the countryside during land redistribution, an experience which for the most part appears to have decisively reformed their attitude toward landlords. Participation in such activities as the Resist America, Aid

organization

five

System Theory and School Districts

DANIEL E. GRIFFITHS

Learning to operate efficient and responsive large-scale organizations is one of modern society's most urgent and baffling problems. The school is a large-scale organization, and it suffers more than most from the absence of consumer choice, bureaucratic rigidity, control by inflexible law, and scarcity of able and energetic managers. Yet the schools have benefited relatively little from the rapidly accumulating knowledge about how to run big organizations, and few organizational changes have been made involving incentives, authority dispersal, accountability, communication, staff characteristics, technology, class scheduling, assignment of credits, etc. Griffiths describes "system theory" and its applicability to matters of organizational change, research, and decision-making in the schools.

One of the major trends in the study of school districts is the use of system theory. This is a new development in educational research and one in which teachers and administrators should have an interest. Much of the language of system theory is strange to the ears of educators and the basic rationale is unknown to most. This paper outlines the basic rationale, delineates system theory, and indicates some of its applications in school districts.

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The Rationale

Much of modern thought in the social sciences proceeds through the use of models. In a sense, the use of models is thinking by analogy, but in order to understand the process let us consider some terms and their relationships.

Brodbeck points out that a statement of fact, a concept, a law, a theory, and a model are all different things. A fact is a particular thing, such as Johnny's I.Q. To state a fact is to state that a concept has an instance or a number of instances. When a fact is connected with other facts, a generalization or law is formed. As

move; men trained recently have acquired the same outlook.

What of the future? Mao Tse-tung has declared that there will be regular rectification campaigns. "Thought reform," he says, "is a protracted, gigantic, and complex task. As the struggle will continue to experience ups and downs, we shall have both tense and slack moments during our work and shall have to proceed in a zigzag."

To say that the Communists have not made complete Marxists out of the Chinese is not sufficient grounds for concluding that in the eyes of the Chinese people they have failed or that volcanic discontent smolders under the surface, straining to erupt. Certain expectations generated by a decade of Communist accomplishment will persist; certain attitudes have been permanently reformed by Communist education. The sense of national pride and dignity, the expectation of honest and efficient government will continue. Through group study and the experience of manifold collective living and working, the Chinese have become and will remain conscious of the interrelationship of various social elements. They may not agree with the Communist interpretation, but gone is the day when, in Sun Yat-sen's phrase, China was like a sheet of loose sand with no sense of cohesion. The thirst for modernity, for ordered, planned, and accelerated economic development by all levels of society, cannot be quenched. The farmer, who may not like the regimentation of the commune, desires not so much return to his unprotected position in the old order as more freedom to utilize for his personal profit the advantages which land redistribution, peace, market stability, and government technical as-

sistance in seeds and fertilizer have brought. He wants to have his cake and eat it too.

Public demand for adequate health and welfare systems, for education will not abate. The shopkeeper, who may not be too happy about being socialized, nonetheless appreciates the fact that his son can finish school, and, with ability, even college. The woman who objects to placing her child in a state nursery so she may be freed for labor is still grateful for the genuine improvement in public health. As the Hundred Flowers movement showed, opposition and bitter criticism in many areas are not so much a demand for the return of the old order as for the revision of the new, under broader, not exclusively Communist leadership.

Observers recently back from China report that the crusading spirit of idealism and sacrifice so prevalent in the early part of the decade is gradually receding. There is a rising desire among the people for more material benefits now. Ironically, the Communists are trapped by their own success. Spectacular strides toward industrialization have unleashed tremendous, if premature, expectations, which the Communists will have to deal with both in their economic planning and their group-study program.

To date, success of group study has depended to no small degree on its invocation of moral and patriotic appeals. In the future, these may not be enough. If the system is to continue to be effective, the Communists will have to find a new focus for thought reform or resort to more pressure. How the inventors of history's most potent mechanism for ideological reform meet this challenge will be an important story of the next decade.

of theory. However, there appear to be few theories which can be used as models in administrative research. Since the science of administration is in its infancy, it may well be that it will need to employ cruder methods—as have all other embryonic sciences.

Both definitions warn against a common evil, that is the use of areas or theories concerning which little is known as models for areas about which even less is known.

System Theory: A Delineation

The approach to system theory employed in this paper is similar to that developed by Hearn (6). Although Hearn's ideas are based upon those of Miller (9) and other system theorists, his careful work is a definite improvement over that of his predecessors.

Systems

A *system* may be simply defined as a complex of elements in mutual interaction. This construct has been used in almost every area of science for a long period of time. Allport offered a more comprehensive definition:

... any recognizably delimited aggregate of dynamic elements that are in some way interconnected and interdependent and that continue to operate together according to certain laws and in such a way as to produce some characteristic total effect. A system, in other words, is something that is concerned with some kind of activity and preserves a kind of integration and unity; and a particular system can be recognized as distinct from other systems to which, however, it may be dynamically related. Systems may be complex; they may be made up of interdependent subsystems, each of which, though less autonomous than the entire aggregate, is nevertheless fairly distinguishable in its operation. (1, p. 469)

A more succinct definition is that of Hall and Fagen: "A system is a set of objects together with relationships between the objects and between their attributes." (5, p. 18)

All systems except the smallest have *sub-systems*, and all but the largest have *supra-systems* which are their environments.

Systems may be *open* or *closed*. An open system is related to and makes exchanges with its environment, while a closed system is not related to and does not make exchanges with its environment. Further, a closed system is characterized by an increase in entropy, while open systems tend toward a steady state.

Open Systems

Open systems, of course, have the properties of systems in general, but also have certain characteristics which distinguish them from closed systems. (6)

1. Open systems exchange matter, energy, and information with their environment; that is, they have *inputs* and *outputs*.

2. Open systems tend to maintain themselves in *steady states*. A steady state occurs when a constant ratio is maintained among the components of the system, given a continuous input to the system. A burning candle is often used as an example of a steady state. Upon being lighted the flame is small, but it rapidly grows to its normal size and maintains the size as long as the candle and its environment exist.

3. Open systems are *self-regulating*. In the illustration above, a sudden draft will cause the flame to flicker, but with the cessation of the draft the flame regains its normal characteristics.

4. Open systems display *equifinality*; that is, identical results can be obtained from different initial conditions. Hearn points out that equi-

Brodbeck says, "A law states that whenever there is an instance of one kind of fact, then there is also an instance of another." (3, p. 377) As an example of a law note the following: the distance a released body falls varies directly with the square of its time; that is, $d = 16t$ (3, p. 379). A law is always an empirical generalization. To move along with the argument, a theory is a deductively connected set of laws. Certain of the laws are the axioms or postulates of the theory (sometimes called assumptions). Their truth is not so much self-evident as it is taken for granted, so that the truth of other empirical assertions, called theorems, can be determined.

We need to diverge from the main point for a moment to introduce another idea, that being *isomorphism*. If X is a model of Y it is so because X is isomorphic to Y. Two conditions are necessary for this to obtain. First, there must be a one-to-one relationship between the elements of X and the elements of Y. Second, the elements of X must bear the same relationship to one another as do the elements of Y. If *all* the elements bear the same relationship to one another then the isomorphism is complete. For instance, if a model of a steam engine is also steam propelled, then the isomorphism is complete. The isomorphism of a planetarium with the heavens is not complete, however, since the motions of the planetarium are not caused by gravitational attraction. It can be said that there are both "complete" and "incomplete" isomorphisms.

Coming back to the argument concerning the definition of a model. A *model* train differs from a toy train in that the model is isomorphic to a real train. If the model works on the same principles as a real train, then the isomorphism is complete. Extend this idea to theories. *If the laws of one theory have the same form as the laws*

of another theory, then the one is a model of the other. How does this work? Brodbeck uses an interesting example:

... suppose it is wondered whether rumors spread like diseases. That is, can the laws of epidemiology, about which quite a bit is known, be a model for a theory of rumor transmission? Or, to say the same thing differently, do the laws about rumors have the same form as the laws about diseases? The descriptive concepts in the laws of epidemiology are first of all replaced by letter variables. This reveals the form of the laws. The concepts referring to diseases are put into one-to-one correspondence with those referring to rumors. The letter variables in the epidemiological laws are replaced by the descriptive terms referring to rumors. This results in a set of hypotheses about rumors, which may or may not be confirmed. If, optimistically, these laws are confirmed, then the two theories have the same form. (3, p. 379)

The definition advocated by Brodbeck and presented in this paper is quite rigorous and may be restrictive of research in administration. It is possible to broaden the definition somewhat and still maintain sufficient clarity and rigor. Brodbeck has also suggested a definition of model which appears to meet the need in administrative research. She says:

... when an area about which we already know a good deal is used to suggest laws for an area about which little is known, then the familiar area providing the form of the laws may be called a model for the new area. (3, p. 379)

This definition is in keeping with the historical use of the term model, but is sufficiently precise and exclusive so as to guide researchers away from some of the dangers encountered in research. As a general rule Brodbeck's first definition should be preferred to her second, particularly if the research to be undertaken is to result in a statement

outside rather than inside an organization. Since organizations are open systems, they have a self-regulating characteristic which causes them to revert to the original state following a minor change made to meet demands of the supra-system.

Many organizations bring in outsiders as administrators, believing that change for the better will result. This apparently works in many cases, and the proposed theory can accommodate this observation. All organizations exhibit some form of progressive segregation or hierarchical order. The order makes it possible for change to occur from the top down but practically impossible for it to occur from the bottom up.

These ideas and others are now formulated as a series of propositions.

Proposition 1. The major impetus for change in organizations is from the outside.

Discussion. It is speculated that when change in an organization does occur, the initiative for the change is from outside the system—that is, from the supra-system. In a study of the administrative performance of elementary school principals in a simulated school, it was found that those who scored relatively higher on a scoring category entitled *Organizational Change* were not aggressive leaders as such, but administrators with a tendency to make changes in the organization to please outsiders and superiors, or to comply with suggestions of subordinates (7). The correlation between the *Organizational Change* score and response to outsiders was somewhat higher than the correlation between the *Organizational Change* score and response to subordinates. The nature of changes made in response to outsiders and insiders were not determined in this study, but it could be hypothesized that changes made in response to in-

siders will be concerned with clarification of rules and internal procedures, while those made in response to outsiders will be concerned with new rules and procedures, and possibly with changes in purpose and direction of the organization. Administrators who initiated change in the simulated school were influenced more by those outside the system than by those inside, and it may well be that this is also true in "real" life.

Practical administrators are well aware of this proposition. The use of consultants, evaluation teams, citizens' committees, and professional organizations to bring change to an organization suggests a clear recognition on the part of administrators that an organization is more apt to change in response to an external force than to an internal force.

Proposition 2. The degree and duration of change is directly proportional to the intensity of the stimulus from the supra-system.

Discussion. As an illustration of the proposition (but not, of course, as proof of it), it has been noted that the rate of instructional innovation in New York State public schools more than doubled within fifteen months of the launching of the Soviet Sputnik I; this increase was maintained through 1961. (2, p. 27)

In order that this proposition be tested, it will be necessary to establish ways of measuring degree of change and intensity of stimulus. Duration is simply a matter of time. If the suggested measurements could be made, the proposition could be tested in all of its ramifications.

Proposition 3. Change in an organization is more probable if the successor to the chief administrator is from outside the organization than if he is from inside the organization.

nality in the human being (an open system) is illustrated by the case of two babies, one born prematurely, the other at full term. The babies may look very different at birth, and may be in different stages of development, but within a few months the differences will have disappeared. Even though the initial states may differ, human beings generally achieve the same stages of development.

5. Open systems maintain their steady states, in part, through the *dynamic interplay of sub-systems operating as functional processes*. This means that the various parts of the system function without persistent conflicts that can be neither resolved nor regulated.

6. Open systems maintain their steady states through *feedback* processes. The concept of feedback as used in system theory is more elaborate than its normal usage implies. The reader is referred to Hearn (6) for a full discussion. In general, feedback refers to that portion of the output of a system which is fed back to the input and affects succeeding outputs, and to the property of being able to adjust future conduct by reference to past performance.

7. Open systems display *progressive segregation* (von Bertalanffy, 1950).¹ This process occurs when the system divides into a hierarchical order of subordinate systems, which gain a certain independence of each other.

Hearn summarizes the properties of *open* or *organismic* systems in this manner:

There is a dynamic interplay among the essential functional sub-processes or sub-systems in the organismic system which enables it to maintain itself in a homeostatic steady state. Assuming a sufficient

input of material from its environment, the organism develops toward a characteristic state despite initial conditions (equipfinality). All of this is accomplished through an automatic self-regulatory process. (6, pp. 48-9)

Use in Research

System theory has wide application in research. Its use can be demonstrated by developing a set of testable propositions concerning change in educational organizations. The use of system theory as a model for a theory of administrative change would lead one to hypothesize that change would be relatively infrequent. Open systems maintain themselves in steady states (a constant ratio is maintained among the components of the system), whereas change calls for the establishment of new ratios among the components of the system. One could also argue on purely logical grounds that society establishes organizations, or sanctions their establishment, to accomplish rather specific purposes. It is, in part, this original sanction that gives organizations their characteristic steady state.

Conditions Aiding Change

Although it is infrequent, change does occur in organizations; at times the change is radical. Under what conditions might change be expected to occur?

Several characteristics of open systems were discussed in the presentation of the model. Some of these have relevance here: input-output, steady state, self-regulation, interplay of sub-systems, feedback, and progressive segregation. An examination of these characteristics leads to several ideas about organizational change.

Since the tendency of organizations is to maintain a steady state, the major impetus for change comes from

¹ Hearn cites Ludwig von Bertalanffy, "An Outline of General Systems Theory," *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, 1 (1950), pp. 156-7.

Discussion. The model specifies feedback as a characteristic of open systems. Feedback tends to maintain the system in a steady state. The administrator who comes from outside does not receive feedback from his actions, since well-established channels for feedback to him do not exist. When an insider is appointed to the top post in an organization, the feedback channels which have been established over the years function to keep him operating in the steady state.

An outsider may bring change into an organization out of sheer ignorance. Not knowing the system, he will function in terms of a system which he does know. Being without ties in the system, he will not receive the feedback that would keep an insider from initiating procedures and policies differing from those in use.

The insider will also keep the sub-systems functioning without conflicts, since he knows how these sub-systems function to maintain the steady state. The outsider may upset the functioning of the sub-systems, through either ignorance or design. Not knowing how sub-systems function, he can inadvertently throw them into conflict through orders or expectations not customarily held for this system. On the other hand, he may introduce conflict among the sub-systems, by purposefully changing their functions. This will, of course, upset the steady state and may in time create a state more to the liking of the chief administrator. The notion of controlled conflict as a method of change in an organization may have a sound theoretical base.

In a study of school superintendents, Carlson (4) found that those appointed from inside the system tend to act in such a way as to maintain the system, while those appointed from outside tend to be innovators.

Proposition 4. "Living systems respond to continuously increasing stress first by a lag in response, then by an over compensatory response, and finally by catastrophic collapse of the system." (9, p. 527)

Discussion. What happens to a system subjected to constantly increasing stress? Miller has formulated the above proposition, which appears to have much relevance to education. As public education is attacked (for example, on the teaching of reading), it responds by proclaiming a strong defense. The schools claim that they have been teaching reading well. In those districts where the defense was not strong enough and the attack grew even stronger, the schools responded by changing their methods of teaching reading. The proposition has not been tested fully, because at this point the stress has always been lifted.

Revolutionary changes occur when the prediction of this proposition is carried through to completion. The collapse of the old system is followed by the establishment of a new system.

Conditions Inhibiting Change

Many of the characteristics of organizations are such that they make the initiation of change difficult. When organizations are viewed in terms of the system theory model, these characteristics appear very clearly.

Proposition 5. The number of innovations is inversely proportional to the tenure of the chief administrator.

Discussion. The longer an administrator stays in a position, the less likely he is to introduce change. The model indicates some reasons for this. All of the processes which bring about the steady state have been given time to operate. Feedback channels have become fully established. Progressive seg-

regation has set in; the sub-systems have become structured and have gained relative independence. Change is thus more difficult, because the frequency of interaction between sub-systems is decreased, and the chances for effective communication are diminished.

Proposition 6. The more hierarchical the structure of an organization, the less the possibility of change.

Discussion. The system theory model points out that a characteristic of open systems is progressive segregation, and this occurs as the system divides into a hierarchical order of subordinate systems which gain a degree of independence of each other. The more hierarchical the sub-systems become, the more independent the sub-systems, and the more difficult it is to introduce change.

Proposition 7. When change in an organization does occur, it will tend to occur from the top down, not from the bottom up.

Discussion. Using the same reasoning as in Proposition 6, a hierarchical order would enable change to occur from the top down, but the relative independence of the sub-systems would tend to slow down the rate of change. The structure makes change from the bottom up very difficult; one would expect little if any change to be introduced in this way.

Proposition 8. The more functional the dynamic interplay of sub-systems, the less the change in an organization.

Discussion. As a system operates, the sub-systems develop methods of interacting in which conflict is at a minimum. Each of the sub-systems has a function to perform, and each does so in such a manner as to allow it to maintain a high degree of harmony

with the others. Each says to the others, in effect, "If you don't rock the boat, I won't." Change is practically synonymous with conflict, since it means that the arrangements the sub-systems have worked out no longer hold. Sub-systems resist conflict, and in the same manner resist change.

Using system theory as a model, a set of propositions concerning change in organizations has been developed. The propositions are restated briefly in the following paragraphs.

Change in organizations will be expedited by the appointment of outsiders rather than insiders as chief administrators. Such administrators will introduce change either because they do not know the system, or because they have a different concept of how the system should function. Most changes result as responses to the demands of the supra-system. The magnitude and duration of change is directly proportional to the intensity of the stimulus from outside. Revolutionary change occurs when a system is placed under continuous, unrelenting stress which is maintained in spite of overcompensating responses, and which results in the collapse of the system and its replacement by a new system.

Change is impeded by the hierarchical nature of organizations. The hierarchical structure makes innovation from the bottom virtually impossible, and the independence of the sub-systems isolates them from innovative activity. The functional nature of the activities of each sub-system generates conflict-inducing behaviour. Further, the longer the tenure of the chief administrator, the fewer the changes.

Use in School Districts

System theory is of value to a school district if it is used as a guide to thinking or if it is used as a method of study-

ing alternate ways of functioning. In the first instance the school is conceptualized as a system. We might vary the definition slightly, but not change its meaning, and say that a system is "a set of interrelated factors that are used together to produce an output." (8, p. 2) The teacher or administrator who believes that a school is a system knows that doing any one thing affects many other things in the school. If, for instance, a secondary school teacher wishes to take a field trip, she should know that all other teachers who have the students during the day of the trip will be affected by the absence of the students. Likewise, the trip calls to attention the liability policy, the transportation provisions, etc. All aspects of the system are affected by a variation in any one aspect. An administrator or teacher who functions with system theory as his guide differs considerably from one who does not.

The second instance, that is, the use of systems concepts to analyze and evaluate a school district, to consider alternate ways of functioning, holds great promise for the future. Putting it very simply, in all systems there are various ways of combining the elements or inputs in order to produce outputs. It is possible, in a school, to vary the inputs and see what are the effects on outputs. Schools can be established, for instance, with one teacher for each child, or with one teacher for each fifty children. Presumably the children will vary in amounts of learning acquired.

Suppose the problem is raised: How can the educational system of Ontario be evaluated using the systems approach? The following requirements would be necessary:

1. A highly detailed, comprehensive, and precisely formulated specification of the behavioural capabilities

that are desired to be established by means of the "educational programmes." These specifications must be in behavioural (measurable) terms and must take great care not to confuse means with ends (e.g., graduates should have an eighth grade reading level). There is no restriction on the kinds of behavioural characteristics that may be specified, although—as will be seen later—extra-systemic considerations may dictate practical limits. It will also be seen later that the characteristics to be specified cannot be wholly arbitrary.

2. From the above specifications a "knowledgeable analyst" must evolve the model of the educational system or the "educational programmes" that can be expected to produce graduates having the specified characteristics. The "knowledgeable analyst" need not be a single individual, but could be a team of competent persons. Even a team of highly competent persons will be limited in its search for means to those ends that are within the present state-of-the-art or can be readily deduced from it. (For practical purposes this is not a very serious limitation.)

3. Valid and reliable instruments must be developed that are adequate to the task of measuring each and every one of the behavioural characteristics that have been specified. Patently these instruments cannot be developed until after the specifications exist. However, it is probably a reasonably safe assumption that there exist at present measuring instruments (tests) that will meet the specifications or can be adopted to them. There still remains the possibility that the magnitude of the effort to develop or adapt the necessary measuring instruments may impose a practical limit on the behavioural characteristics that should be realistically specified.

4. In addition to preliminary ad-

ministrations of the tests to establish their reliabilities and validities, they must then be administered for purposes of assessing the output. Tests will need to be administered to a representative sample of the output (graduates) of the educational programmes of the public schools of the Province over a sufficient period of time to provide a valid and reliable measure of "error."

5. Diagnostic error information will have to be fed back into the educational system, or, at least, into a representative sample of it. The output of this sample of the educational system will have to be monitored to verify the reduction in "error" to zero or to some specified acceptable limit.

The notion of feedback is one that is common to the operations research movement, but the notion of feedback is probably not a correct one. Clearly the feedback is not to the present occurrence of the system, but to the next occurrence of it, or the cycle of events by which input is transferred to output. In other words, it can be seen that feedback is really feedforward, and that probably the use of the term feedforward would be one that would help to clarify the whole idea of improving the system.²

It should be noted that there are two kinds of input to a system. There is input that is to be transformed, and there is input that does the transforming. The first is called operand input, and the second is called operative input. In the school system, students would normally be called operand input, while teachers, buildings, materials, and the like would be called

operative input. It should be realized that all output is input to some other system or systems, and that all input is output from some other system or systems. This must be said because the only all-encompassing system is the universe. In designating a particular system we are merely setting aside some portion of the universe in a completely arbitrary manner and as a problem-solving convenience. In considering the relations of sub-systems to each other, and remembering that all output of each sub-system is input through one or more others, it can be shown that objective requirements for output are generated in this context. Later sub-systems impose requirements on earlier sub-systems, and conversely earlier sub-systems determine later ones. The degree of determinacy is shown to increase with time, since the determining events are distributed over time.

This talk has been an attempt to present the basic rationale for system theory and to show its relevance to research and to the operation of a school district. System theory is an additional tool in the kit of a man who wishes to understand how school districts function and why they function as they do.

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² To the best of my knowledge, the use of the term "feedforward" was originated by Felix F. Kopstein of the Educational Testing Service. I am also indebted to him for most of the ideas in this section of the paper dealing with evaluation of a school system.

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The Credentials Trap

S. M. MILLER

Not everyone has joined in the campaign to keep young people from becoming school dropouts. As seen in the Goodman statement, some have even questioned the relevance of schools. S. M. Miller, on the other hand, while not challenging the value of schooling per se, does question the justice and efficacy of mechanically requiring educational credentials for many positions. He argues that individuals should be judged by their ability to perform rather than by credentials they have earned. This viewpoint quite naturally finds support from civil rights activists and leaders who have charged that the "credentials game" is another device for hiding discrimination against minorities who have not had the opportunity to earn the proper credentials.

In a recent crash program in Washington, a federal agency appointed a man uniquely qualified for a particularly demanding job. Probably no one else in the nation had his particular set of experiences which fitted this job so well. They were very pleased with his work and wanted to make him a permanent member of the staff. In order to gain regular status, he had to be rated by the Civil Service Commission. The Commission decided that he

was underqualified for the position level he had, despite his excellent performance in the job!

This man had committed a terrible crime in contemporary America. He not only lacked a college diploma, but he had not graduated from high school! At 50, he was still labeled a "dropout" although he was better informed and more analytical than most college professors. He could not have a high-level rating even though he had shown a capacity to manage this difficult job and had fulfilled other tough assignments very well.

Each of us could tell of others who

Speech by S. M. Miller, Visiting Professor of Education and Sociology, New York University, to the national meeting, Neighborhood Youth Corps, St. Louis, May 2, 1966.

were disqualified for jobs they could well have managed because they did not possess the credentials for the job. In a growing number of occupations, individuals must meet requirements set by law in order to be eligible for particular jobs. These legal requirements are found not only in professions such as law and medicine, but are proliferating in occupations which seem to need less governmental supervision of possible newcomers than do the professions. More important is the fact that employers have been constantly raising their expectations of what formal qualifications employees should bring to the job.

Without educational credentials, an individual is barred from a growing list of occupations. We are increasingly judging people in terms of their educational credentials rather than their performance. As we become increasingly unsure of how to judge the performance output, we emphasize the educational input of the performers as the criterion of achievement.

Education has become the major route to economic advance in our society. It was not always so. Earlier in this century a variety of routes to economic advance could be traveled. One might develop a small business into a successful larger enterprise. Or he could work from a low-level position requiring little education to a high position in a big company. Today, without education—and that increasingly means a college diploma or beyond—the chances of climbing the occupational ladder are slim. We have reduced the roads of social mobility to one main highway—that of education. Those who lack educational credentials are barred from the good, secure jobs.

The uncredentialed now serve a life sentence of limited chances, no matter what their talent and potential. Less and less can experience be substituted

for education in civil service jobs. We are in effect ruling out the possibility that individuals can get the kinds of experience which are the equivalent (or more) of a college education.

The Wastage

We are establishing principles for excluding people from the economic mainstream rather than constructing procedures which will bring more people into decent employment. The result is a great wastage.

Society suffers because of the underutilization and the individuals lose because they cannot get adequate and satisfying employment. Testing could be used to identify the different kinds of aids individuals need in order to develop; instead, it is most frequently used to select the most easily useful persons and to consign the rest to the oblivion of "low scorers" or "low achievers."

Credentialism economically disenfranchises the low-educated in American society, including most Negroes. Whether this is the intent or not, the stress on degrees and diplomas makes it extraordinarily difficult for those of low education, whatever ability they have, to move into the economic mainstream of this country. *The poor, the Negro, the low-educated are trapped by diplomas, overwhelmed by certificates, the tripped up by qualifications.* The credentials system is one of the central obstacles to our present national policy of increasing economic opportunities for the poor.

The Trap

We are in a credentials trap.

Employers may believe that the emphasis on high qualifications gives them a better labor force, but this is doubtful. The preliminary findings of

an important study by the thoughtful Columbia University sociologist Ivar Berg show that at every occupational level, those of less education do better than those of high education. The less educated have less absenteeism, less turnover, less job dissatisfaction and the like. Getting people of higher education than a job requires is likely to produce low morale and productivity. Yet employers tend to search for workers with more education than the jobs demand and to exclude the low-educated who might do a better job.

The credentials system is irrational. It places too much confidence in the schools as an adequate sifter of talent and potential. It excludes rather than includes. It maintains and probably accentuates existing patterns of discrimination. It does not even appear to have a high payoff for employers.

Strategies

What should be the strategies for change? Three approaches can be taken: (1) reduce the importance of credentialing; (2) multiply the ways in which one gets the "proper" credentials and the time-points at which this happens; (3) restructure jobs.

Basically changing the credential system requires reducing the importance of education and highlighting the significance of experience and of potential. The fundamental assumption involved is that the low-educated have much more potential than they are given credit for. The orientation would be toward relatively open admission to jobs; then individuals would be sorted on the basis of their performance in the jobs. The aim would be to give more and more people a chance of getting the "good jobs." To do this we would probably have to provide a variety of services to help

develop people. Education would be less used in assessing ability and potential; selection decisions, to the extent that they must be made, would be made at much later times than now; almost all people would be regarded as having useful abilities and the effort would be to learn how to invest in the development of each individual. Obviously, the private enterprise sector as well as the public and nonprofit sectors would have to be involved in any effort to reduce the present-day importance of credentialism. We may have to subsidize private enterprise to hire and to *develop* those who do not have the traditional credentials.

The second strategy is through the expansion of the ways of getting credentialed and the times at which the credentials can be gained. Today, if one does not get 12 or 16 or 18 or 20 years of education in the orthodox way of continuous immersion, one has much reduced chances of gaining credentials.

We should more effectively develop school programs and procedures so that "once" out does not mean "permanently" out. Education and training will be increasingly a discontinuous process for the high-educated in American society, as they will need new kinds of education at various points in their careers.

To some extent the poverty programs are new credentialing systems in our society. Employers are more willing to hire youth who have gone through one of these self-selection and molding systems. Neighborhood Youth Corps or Job Corps experience may be a new way of getting a credential which employers will accept.

Those defeated by our educational system at age 16 might be able to get needed credentials at age 18 or 22. One should have second, third, fourth chances to get credentials. *The more*

different ways of getting credentials, the less the number of people who would fail to get some of the brownie points needed for acceptance into the main economy.

We should recognize that even though we multiply the credentialing routes, some would always be failing through any credentialing system. Those low-income and low-educated youth who do not make—for whatever reason—the Job Corps or the Neighborhood Youth Corps may be even more disadvantaged in the job situation as the result of this new failure. We should constantly try to develop ways of getting them credentialed.

The third strategy is to change the structure of jobs so that less trained people can perform in them. This is the strategy of the nonprofessional occupation, which breaks down the tasks of a professional job—like those of a social worker or a nurse or teacher—into smaller units and combines some of the tasks so less trained people can do them. (Sometimes, the recombination produces services which the professional was not previously able to provide.) These essentially new jobs do not require credentials and are in fact being filled in poverty programs by people with limited education. They also provide needed services in low-income communities and reduce

the great unmeetable demand for professionally trained personnel. The job of the professional will increasingly be to make it possible for less trained people to do effective work.

We can see the possibilities of new kinds of less educated talents in changed professional jobs when we recognize what nonprofessionals are currently doing. The medical corpsmen in the Navy and Marine Corps are performing—and generally very well—various services for which, if they were in civilian life, they would be arrested since they would be practicing medicine without a license. It is largely the reluctance of professionals to bend that is the obstacle rather than the limited potential of the less educated.

The practicability of restructuring jobs is found not only in the professional service field. Private enterprise could probably get more of its needed labor (and at high productivity levels) if it restructured jobs so that the less trained could perform at least parts of them. It is important to see that the credentials problem is an issue vital to both the private and public sectors. The national interest of gaining decent employment for the low-educated and the poor must be joined with the private interest of profit.

The Return on Educational Investment

HAROLD F. CLARK

Economic systems provide the material base on which a society rests. Its relation to the schools has been seriously neglected by scholars. The economic system provides funds for the schools, technology for instruction, an ideology for school participants, and jobs, opportunity, incentives, and motivation for student achievement.

Schools also influence the economic system. They are not simply passive partners upon which the economy leaves its imprint. Education, Clark and others assert, contributes to economic growth in a significant way in that it produces new knowledge and the trained personnel for an expansive economy.

For the past hundred and fifty years most economists have accepted as a matter of faith the position that the economic return on educational investment was high. Adam Smith made the statement some hundred and seventy-five years ago. Little effort has been made to develop proof of the argument. Anything approaching case-studies was nonexistent. The statement has been made over and over again in the intervening years. The economists have repeated the statement and then passed on to other items of more immediate concern to them.

There are several reasons why the economists have not systematically studied the return on the educational investment. In the first place it is extraordinarily difficult to get the evidence. The factors that bring about economic advance are many and varied. One author who is particularly

interested in studying the effect of capital on economic growth will assign a great role to capital. Another author, who is impressed with the *entrepreneur*, will assign to him the major role in economic advance. Another author will be impressed with scientific development. Some of the older authors were impressed very greatly by the natural fertility of the land. Many economists have been greatly impressed by the total range of natural resources.

In addition, education was being provided for many reasons, and many kinds of education were being provided. Many varieties of it obviously could not and were not expected to make any economic return. Consequently, the economists could not discuss education as a whole except as a general average. This necessarily blurred the issue and made the analysis more difficult.

Many Kinds of Education

The problem is further complicated by the fact that much education is

Adapted from "The Return on Educational Investment," in *Education and Economics: The Year Book of Education*, 1956, ed. R. K. Hall and J. A. Lauwerys (London, Evans Brothers Limited, 1956), pp. 495-506. Reproduced with permission.

clearly provided for non-economic reasons. Some part of the educational programme is expected to raise the economic welfare either specifically or in general. On the other hand, in every country in the world a very large part of the educational programme is designed for other purposes. One or two illustrations may make the problem clearer.

A study of any of the great classical religions of the world is clearly important, and should be pursued somewhere within the educational structure. It is probably equally clear that, except by the most indirect and round-about ways, such a study could not reasonably be expected to have any immediate effect, one way or the other, on the economic welfare of a country. The same would probably be true of opera, though doubtlessly, a very strong case can be made for some people knowing and appreciating opera.

There are literally hundreds of reasons for providing various parts of the educational programme. Improving the level of economic welfare is only one reason. One part of the educational system designed for some entirely different purpose might or might not have an important economic effect. There would be no reason to assume that it does until some evidence is available. If the economic level in a country is to be raised by education, it would seem as though the part of the education expected to be particularly useful would have to be designed, at least to some extent, to accomplish this purpose.

Education in General Has a Good Economic Effect

The above arguments do not mean that education generally does not have desirable results. It undoubtedly does.

The economic consequences are much less direct than could be obtained if one cared to pay the price. It is undoubtedly safe to say on the average the total educational programme in any western country in the world today has a beneficial effect upon the economy as a whole. Much of this benefit, however, probably stems from a part of the programme.

A similar case can be made for education generally as it exists around the world. Probably a much stronger case can be made for the position that an educational program can be designed to have an even more powerful effect on the level of economic welfare of any country. It is probably true that such a programme could rapidly change the economic status of any undeveloped country in the world. This assumes, of course, that the people would be interested in making the change.

The evidence is also very strong that at least in the technical fields a highly developed educational system pays enormous economic returns in the developed industrial countries of the world. There are good reasons to believe that education can have even a greater economic effect in the high-income countries than it has ever had up to the present time. The question seems to be almost entirely one of how much of the educational effort will be devoted to types of programmes that might reasonably be expected to improve the economic status of the country.

The Development in the United States

The development in the United States is a very interesting case-study of the place of education in increasing economic welfare. The United States was relatively fortunate in having large physical resources. It also was fortu-

nate from the economic standpoint in obtaining a large number of settlers who were industrious and believed in saving and hard work. The combination of these with other factors was such that income would probably have been reasonably high with a relatively poor school system.

On the other hand, there are many reasons to assume that the development of a widespread school system has been a major factor in pushing the income of the United States to a far higher level than it would have otherwise been. An analysis of three specific areas of education may help to illustrate this.

There are some kinds of economic activity that are extraordinarily difficult to carry on unless the population has a high degree of literacy. Most of the people must be able to read and write. One economic development that seems to depend upon this is a widespread mass consumption market. Unquestionably, a mass market has been an important factor in making possible mass production. Mass production made possible far lower factory cost and consequently higher consumption, higher wages, and a higher standard of living. The high incomes, in turn, have made possible even larger mass production and mass consumption.

Clearly literacy is not an adequate cause of these complicated phenomena. Many other countries in the world have a very high degree of literacy and have not developed a mass market as in the United States. Literacy is not an adequate cause, but at least in the past it has probably been a necessary requirement of certain kinds of mass markets. Here we have a case where at least a minimum amount of education was probably a necessary factor in a major American economic advance.

Schools and Agricultural Development

The United States is burdened with agricultural surpluses of almost all kinds. This seems to be a curious problem and one that quite obviously seems puzzling to most of the world. A recent United Nations report estimated that probably half the people of the world are hungry a large part of their lives. It might appear as though any country should have the necessary skill to deal with too much food. Nuisance though an agricultural surplus may be to the United States, basically it is a great tribute to part of the educational system.

It is an entirely reasonable assumption to make that if our elaborate programme of agricultural education had not been developed, we in the United States would not be bothered with agricultural surpluses. In fact, we might very well have been greatly bothered, as so much of the world is, by not having enough food.

For a hundred years the United States has been developing a remarkable system of agricultural schools. These schools have been devoted overwhelmingly to increasing production on the farm and they have succeeded almost beyond belief. They probably will shift some of their analysis to dealing with agricultural over-production, and over a period of time they will solve that problem also.

The development of the agricultural educational system is a remarkable illustration of what can be done to deal with a fairly complicated part of an economic order. About a hundred and fifty years ago, most American farmers worked as their ancestors before them; a son learned his farming from his father, who had learned it from his father. Some changes went on slowly but perhaps took generations to develop and spread. A century

and a half ago the American farmer was still planting wheat in the way it was planted in Biblical times. The farmer carried on his shoulder a bag of grain, broadcast it, then he covered it up and hoped for the best. The wheat was cut by hand and thrashed by a flail; processes that had been used for thousands of years in the Middle East.

Changes of many kinds started in many places other than the school system. But about a century ago, the schools began to play a very active and important part in increasing agricultural output. Agricultural colleges were started in each state of the Union. These colleges began to accumulate all kinds of technical information. They developed better types of wheat and corn; they improved all kinds of agricultural implements; and they expanded the technical knowledge of better breeds of cattle.

Very soon after the establishment of the agricultural colleges, agricultural secondary schools were set up. In the past three-quarters of a century approximately ten thousand agricultural high schools have been built. This means that almost any boy or girl in a rural area of America has access to technically accurate and reasonably up-to-date agricultural information. The agricultural teacher has probably attended the agricultural college. He keeps up with the new technical material and passes it on down to the boys and girls in his classes.

Throughout this same century agricultural experimental stations were also established in every state in the Union. These experimental stations became highly specialized centres searching for better methods of carrying on practically every phase of farming. They tested out a hundred different methods of growing a crop. Testing plots by the thousands became

a customary part of landscape around all these institutions. There is scarcely any important aspect of American farm life that has not felt the impact of the scientific research of the agriculture experiment station.

During this period, a whole educational system of extension workers has been set up by the agricultural colleges. In other words, the agricultural colleges made a determined and systematic effort to carry their knowledge back to every farming community in the state. Then a system of county agricultural agents was established. These agents were trained, agricultural experts. There is one in almost every agricultural county in the country; altogether there are about three thousand of them. Finally, many rural elementary schools began to deal with some important agriculture problems. Now we have a comprehensive programme of education reaching a very large proportion of the total agricultural population.

Here is a brief outline of the total system: A universal system of elementary education producing literacy for almost everyone and also some acquaintance with agriculture procedures. A system of agricultural high schools extending into practically every important agricultural community in the country, training hundreds of thousands of boys and girls to be experts in all phases of agricultural life. A system of agricultural colleges covering the entire country and providing for agricultural leadership and producing highly trained personnel. A system of agricultural experimental and research stations covering every section of the country, and dealing at a very high, advanced technical level with all kinds of problems facing the farmer. Finally, a system of adult and extension education reaching back into the local communities, taking the technical infor-

Medical Schools

A fairly strong and similar case can be made for the schools which are trying to improve the health of the United States. There seems little doubt that the medical schools plus the other allied agencies have been major instruments in expanding the average life span there. Of course, many other countries have similarly increased the length of life; some of them have highly developed health educational programmes and some have not.

But it seems reasonable to assume that the return on the money spent on health education has been fairly substantial. Undoubtedly, the general rise in economic conditions, which has brought about better working conditions, better diet, and better housing, has also been a major factor in contributing to the rise in life-expectancy. However, when all these factors are taken care of, it is still probable that the return on education for health has been great.

A Possible Programme

It must be repeated again that there are many reasons for providing an educational programme. As a country becomes richer, it can provide all kinds of education simply as consumer items. This means it provides certain types of education for the same reason that it provides experiences in art, music, and in many other fields. The society can afford them and wants them. Now this non-economic education will undoubtedly expand greatly as societies become richer and can afford it.

However, it is also important for any country, including the United States, to have some general idea of the type of educational expansion that will bring a relatively high economic return. Clearly, we do not know the

answer to this question in any final terms. However, there are strong reasons for believing that certain kinds of education in certain amounts will return a very high dividend to society.

In general, an educational programme that gives promise of bringing a high economic return to the United States will look about like this. Widespread and almost universal elementary education seemingly will more than pay for itself. Presumably, this programme would provide the minimum skills for literacy, for use of the native language, and for basic arithmetical competency. If there is a small part of the population that cannot absorb all this, it can probably profit from a certain amount of training to increase manual skills in certain limited fields.

Elementary schooling also provides a very wide basis for very large numbers to move into secondary school. As far as the United States is concerned, the number graduated from high school probably should be increased very substantially above the present level. About 60 per cent graduate from high school; the percentage probably should rise to about 80. This is an effort to make the decision on economic grounds. Whether the last 10 or 20 per cent of the population should be graduated from the high school on other than economic grounds becomes a question of social policy.

It is undoubtedly important to keep a widespread general education available for most of these high school students. But probably very substantial numbers are going to have to be given somewhat technical education for a variety of reasons. Certainly in the rural areas the agricultural high schools should remain. If the time ever comes when virtually everyone is graduated from high school and most people go to a technical institution, then the

question can be raised whether most of the technical agricultural education should be moved above the secondary level.

Much the same attitude exists regarding the great cosmopolitan high school and also the technical high school within the cities. The programme should be kept as general as possible; but, on the other hand, for a large number of students it must provide the basis for an occupation. This applies to some extent to the commercial high school as well. Again, if the time ever comes when these communities are sending almost all their students through the secondary school and on through two years of technical training, they then might consider moving the technical work above the high school level. But economically, the far safer situation would seem to be a widespread provision at the high school level of technical education of many kinds, and at the same time encouraging as many people as possible to take more general courses.

Seemingly, some further substantial expansion of the college population is economically advantageous. Clearly, there can be an enormous expansion of college enrolment beyond the point that would pay an economic return. There are somewhat over 2½ million college students now and the estimates are that the number will almost double within the next generation. This will probably be a desirable move economically. The real answer will depend, of course, upon the distribution of these students within the various fields of

higher education. There can be no question that a further great expansion in the engineering, technical, and scientific fields will bring a very great economic return. Probably a substantial expansion in the health field will pay economically. Some substantial increase both in numbers and in quality of the agricultural education will undoubtedly pay.

A fair case can probably be made that an increase in quality in college education generally will probably pay. At this point, however, we quickly run into the problem of adequate personnel. In the future it is not going to be possible to staff all the situations that need high-grade ability with as many people as they want. Some better method will have to be found to see that able people are reasonably well distributed in the light of what they would like to do and of the needs of the society. An educational system that could do this would bring a favourable economic return to any society. The educational system in some countries is so narrow that it leads the able students into a few fields, and these are usually ones that the society does not need very much.

There are other important aspects of the American educational system that could undoubtedly be expanded with great economic advantage. It must also be kept in mind that many parts of the educational system should be expanded that would not normally be expected to provide an economic return.

interaction in the school and youth culture

SIX

The School Class as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in American Society

TALCOTT PARSONS

Interaction within the school system has been the subject of as much scholarly attention as the relation of schools to the outside world (the society's power structure, political, economic, value, and stratification systems) has been the subject of oblivious neglect. These studies of structures, processes, and interaction among participants in the school have not generally shed much light on the problem of schools nor aided much in improving school performance. Their popularity can be accounted for by the fact that they are easier and safer to make.

Parsons calls attention to the school's function in socializing individuals and allocating roles in society. The school is in a sense a subsystem of the larger system, and many analogues between the two can be seen.

This essay will attempt to outline, if only sketchily, an analysis of the elementary and secondary school class as a social system, and the relation of its structure to its primary functions in the society as an agency of socialization and allocation. While it is important that the school class is normally part of the larger organization of a school, the class rather than the whole school will be the unit of analysis here,

for it is recognized both by the school system and by the individual pupil as the place where the "business" of formal education actually takes place. In elementary schools, pupils of one grade are typically placed in a single "class" under one main teacher, but in the secondary school, and sometimes in the upper elementary grades, the pupil works on different subjects under different teachers; here the complex of classes participated in by the same pupil is the significant unit for our purposes.

Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society," *Harvard Educational Review*, 29, No. 4 (Fall, 1959), 297-318.

The Problem: Socialization and Selection

Our main interest, then, is in a dual problem: first of how the school class functions to internalize in its pupils both the commitments and capacities for successful performance of their future adult roles, and second of how it functions to allocate these human resources within the role-structure of the adult society. The primary ways in which these two problems are inter-related will provide our main points of reference.

First, from the functional point of view the school class can be treated as an agency of socialization. That is to say, it is an agency through which individual personalities are trained to be motivationally and technically adequate to the performance of adult roles. It is not the sole such agency; the family, informal "peer groups," churches, and sundry voluntary organizations all play a part, as does actual on-the-job training. But, in the period extending from entry into first grade until entry into the labor force or marriage, the school class may be regarded as the focal socializing agency.

The socialization function may be summed up as the development in individuals of the commitments and capacities which are essential prerequisites of their future role-performance. Commitments may be broken down in turn into two components: commitment to the implementation of the broad *values* of society, and commitment to the performance of a specific type of role within the *structure* of society. Thus a person in a relatively humble occupation may be a "solid citizen" in the sense of commitment to honest work in that occupation, without an intensive and sophisticated concern with the implementation of society's higher-level values. Or conversely, someone else might object to

the anchorage of the feminine role in marriage and the family on the grounds that such anchorage keeps society's total talent resources from being distributed equitably to business, government, and so on. Capacities can also be broken down into two components, the first being competence or the skill to perform the tasks involved in the individual's roles, and the second being "role-responsibility" or the capacity to live up to other people's expectations of the interpersonal behavior appropriate to these roles. Thus a mechanic as well as a doctor needs to have not only the basic "skills of his trade," but also the ability to behave responsibly toward those people with whom he is brought into contact in his work.

While on the one hand, the school class may be regarded as a primary agency by which these different components of commitments and capacities are generated, on the other hand, it is, from the point of view of the society, an agency of "manpower" allocation. It is well known that in American society there is a very high, and probably increasing, correlation between one's status level in the society and one's level of educational attainment. Both social status and educational level are obviously related to the occupational status which is attained. Now, as a result of the general process of both educational and occupational upgrading, completion of high school is increasingly coming to be the norm for minimum satisfactory educational attainment, and the most significant line for future occupational status has come to be drawn between members of an age-cohort who do and do not go to college.

We are interested, then, in what it is about the school class in our society that determines the distinction between the contingents of the age-

cohort which do and do not go to college. Because of a tradition of localism and a rather pragmatic pluralism, there is apparently considerable variety among school systems of various cities and states. Although the situation in metropolitan Boston probably represents a more highly structured pattern than in many other parts of the country, it is probably not so extreme as to be misleading in its main features. There, though of course actual entry into college does not come until after graduation from high school, the main dividing line is between those who are and are not enrolled in the college preparatory course in high school; there is only a small amount of shifting either way after about the ninth grade when the decision is normally made. Furthermore, the evidence seems to be that by far the most important criterion of selection is the record of school performance in elementary school. These records are evaluated by teachers and principals, and there are few cases of entering the college preparatory course against their advice. It is therefore not stretching the evidence too far to say broadly that the primary selective process occurs through differential school performance in elementary school, and that the "seal" is put on it in junior high school.

The evidence also is that the selective process is genuinely assortative. As in virtually all comparable processes, ascriptive as well as achieved factors influence the outcome. In this case, the ascriptive factor is the socioeconomic status of the child's family, and the factor underlying his opportunity for achievement is his individual ability. In the study of 3,348 Boston high school boys on which these generalizations are based, each of these factors was quite highly correlated with planning college. For example, the percentages planning col-

lege, by father's occupation, were: 12 per cent for semi-skilled and unskilled, 19 per cent for skilled, 26 per cent for minor white collar, 52 per cent for middle white collar, and 80 per cent for major white collar. Likewise, intentions varied by ability (as measured by IQ), namely, 11 per cent for the lowest quintile, 17 per cent for the next, 24 per cent for the middle, 30 per cent for the next to the top, and 52 per cent for the highest. It should be noted also that within any ability quintile, the relationship of plans to father's occupation is seen. For example, within the very important top quintile in ability as measured, the range in college intentions was from 29 per cent for sons of laborers to 89 per cent for sons of major white collar persons.

The essential points here seem to be that there is a relatively uniform criterion of selection operating to differentiate between the college and the non-college contingents, and that for a very important part of the cohort the operation of this criterion is not a "put-up job"—it is not simply a way of affirming a previous determined ascriptive status. To be sure, the high-status, high-ability boy is very likely indeed to go to college, and the low-status, low-ability boy is very unlikely to go. But the "cross-pressured" group for whom these two factors do not coincide¹ is of considerable importance.

¹ There seem to be two main reasons why the high-status, low-ability group is not so important as its obverse. The first is that in a society of expanding educational and occupational opportunity the general trend is one of upgrading, and the social pressures to downward mobility are not as great as they would otherwise be. The second is that there are cushioning mechanisms which tend to protect the high status boy who has difficulty "making the grade." He may be sent to a college with low academic standards, he may go to schools where the line between ability levels is not rigorously drawn, etc.

Considerations like these lead me to conclude that the main process of differentiation (which from another point of view is selection) that occurs during elementary school takes place on a single main axis of *achievement*. Broadly, moreover, the differentiation leads up through high school to a bifurcation into college-goers and non-college-goers.

To assess the significance of this pattern, let us look at its place in the socialization of the individual. Entering the system of formal education is the child's first major step out of primary involvement in his family of orientation. Within the family certain foundations of his motivational system have been laid down. But the only characteristic fundamental to later roles which has clearly been "determined" and psychologically stamped in by that time is sex role. The postoeidipal child enters the system of formal education clearly categorized as boy or girl, but beyond that his *role* is not yet differentiated. The process of selection, by which persons will select and be selected for categories of roles, is yet to take place.

On grounds which cannot be gone into here, it may be said that the most important single predispositional factor with which the child enters the school is his level of *independence*. By this is meant his level of self-sufficiency relative to guidance by adults, his capacity to take responsibility and to make his own decisions in coping with new and varying situations. This, like his sex role, he has as a function of his experience in the family.

The family is a collectivity within which the basic status-structure is ascribed in terms of biological position, that is, by generation, sex, and age. There are inevitably differences of performance relative to these, and they are rewarded and punished in ways

that contribute to differential character formation. But these differences are not given the sanction of institutionalized social status. The school is the first socializing agency in the child's experience which institutionalizes a differentiation of status on nonbiological bases. Moreover, this is not an ascribed but an achieved status; it is the status "earned" by differential performance of the tasks set by the teacher, who is acting as an agent of the community's school system. Let us look at the structure of this situation.

The Structure of the Elementary School Class

In accord with the generally wide variability of American institutions, and of course the basically local control of school systems, there is considerable variability of school situations, but broadly they have a single relatively well-marked framework.² Particularly in the primary part of the elementary grades, i.e., the first three grades, the basic pattern includes one main teacher for the class, who teaches all subjects and who is in charge of the class generally. Sometimes this early, and frequently in later grades, other teachers are brought in for a few special subjects, particularly gym, music, and art, but this does not alter the central position of the main teacher. This teacher is usually a woman.³ The class

² This discussion refers to public schools. Only about 13 per cent of all elementary and secondary school pupils attend non-public schools, with this proportion ranging from about 22 per cent in the Northeast to about 6 per cent in the South. U.S. Office of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1954-56* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959), chap. ii, "Statistics of State School Systems, 1955-56," Table 44, p. 114.

³ In 1955-56, 13 per cent of the public elementary school instructional staff in the United States were men. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

is with this one teacher for the school year, but usually no longer.

The class, then, is composed of about 25 age-peers of both sexes drawn from a relatively small geographical area—the neighborhood. Except for sex in certain respects, there is initially no formal basis for differentiation of status within the school class. The main structural differentiation develops gradually, on the single main axis indicated above as achievement. That the differentiation should occur on a single main axis is insured by four primary features of the situation. The first is the initial equalization of the “contestants” status by age and by “family background,” the neighborhood being typically much more homogeneous than is the whole society. The second circumstance is the imposition of a common set of tasks which is, compared to most other task-areas, strikingly undifferentiated. The school situation is far more like a race in this respect than most role-performance situations. Third, there is the sharp polarization between the pupils in their initial equality and the single teacher who is an adult and “represents” the adult world. And fourth, there is a relatively systematic process of evaluation of the pupils’ performances. From the point of view of a pupil, this evaluation, particularly (though not exclusively) in the form of report card marks, constitutes reward and/or punishment for past performance; from the viewpoint of the school system acting as an allocating agency, it is a basis of selection for future status in society.

Two important sets of qualifications need to be kept in mind in interpreting this structural pattern, but I think these do not destroy the significance of its main outline. The first qualification is for variations in the formal organization and procedures of the

school class itself. Here the most important kind of variation is that between relatively “traditional” schools and relatively “progressive” schools. The more traditional schools put more emphasis on discrete units of subject-matter, whereas the progressive type allows more “indirect” teaching through “projects” and broader topical interests where more than one bird can be killed with a stone. In progressive schools there is more emphasis on groups of pupils working together, compared to the traditional direct relation of the individual pupil to the teacher. This is related to the progressive emphasis on co-operation among the pupils rather than direct competition, to greater permissiveness as opposed to strictness of discipline, and to a de-emphasis on formal marking. In some schools one of these components will be more prominent, and in others, another. That it is, however, an important range of variation is clear. It has to do, I think, very largely with the independence-dependence training which is so important to early socialization in the family. My broad interpretation is that those people who emphasize independence training will tend to be those who favor relatively progressive education. The relation of support for progressive education to relatively high socio-economic status and to “intellectual” interests and the like is well known. There is no contradiction between these emphases both on independence and on co-operation and group solidarity among pupils. In the first instance this is because the main focus of the independence problem at these ages is vis-à-vis adults. However, it can also be said that the peer group, which here is built into the school class, is an indirect field of expression of dependency needs, displaced from adults.

The second set of qualifications con-

cerns the "informal" aspects of the school class, which are always somewhat at variance with the formal expectations. For instance, the formal pattern of nondifferentiation between the sexes may be modified informally, for the very salience of the one-sex peer group at this age period means that there is bound to be considerable implicit recognition of it—for example, in the form of teachers' encouraging group competition between boys and girls. Still, the fact of coeducation and the attempt to treat both sexes alike in all the crucial formal respects remain the most important. Another problem raised by informal organization is the question of how far teachers can and do treat pupils particularistically in violation of the universalistic expectations of the school. When compared with other types of formal organizations, however, I think the extent of this discrepancy in elementary schools is seen to be not unusual. The school class is structured so that opportunity for particularistic treatment is severely limited. Because there are so many more children in a school class than in a family and they are concentrated in a much narrower age range, the teacher has much less chance than does a parent to grant particularistic favors.

Bearing in mind these two sets of qualifications, it is still fair, I think, to conclude that the major characteristics of the elementary school class in this country are such as have been outlined. It should be especially emphasized that more or less progressive schools, even with their relative lack of emphasis on formal marking, do not constitute a separate pattern, but rather a variant tendency within the same pattern. A progressive teacher, like any other, will form opinions about the different merits of her pupils relative to the values and goals of

the class and will communicate these evaluations to them, informally if not formally. It is my impression that the extremest cases of playing down relative evaluation are confined to those upper-status schools where going to a "good" college is so fully taken for granted that for practical purposes it is an ascribed status. In other words, in interpreting these facts the selective function of the school class should be kept continually in the forefront of attention. Quite clearly its importance has not been decreasing; rather the contrary.

The Nature of School Achievement

What, now, of the content of the "achievement" expected of elementary school children? Perhaps the best broad characterization which can be given is that it involves the types of performance which are, on the one hand, appropriate to the school situation and, on the other hand, are felt by adults to be important in themselves. This vague and somewhat circular characterization may, as was mentioned earlier, be broken down into two main components. One of these is the more purely "cognitive" learning of information, skills, and frames of reference associated with empirical knowledge and technological mastery. The *written* language and the early phases of mechanical thinking are clearly vital; they involve cognitive skills at altogether new levels of generality and abstraction compared to those commanded by the pre-school child. With these basic skills goes assimilation of much factual information about the world.

The second main component is what may broadly be called a "moral" one. In earlier generations of schooling this was known as "deportment." Somewhat more generally it might be

called responsible citizenship in the school community. Such things as respect for the teacher, consideration and co-operativeness in relation to fellow-pupils, and good "work-habits" are the fundamentals, leading on to capacity for "leadership" and "initiative."

The striking fact about this achievement content is that in the elementary grades these two primary components are not clearly differentiated from each other. Rather, the pupil is evaluated in diffusely general terms; a *good* pupil is defined in terms of a fusion of the cognitive and the moral components, in which varying weight is given to one or the other. Broadly speaking, then, we may say that the "high achievers" of the elementary school are both the "bright" pupils, who catch on easily to their more strictly intellectual tasks, and the more "responsible" pupils, who "behave well" and on whom the teacher can "count" in her difficult problems of managing the class. One indication that this is the case is the fact that in elementary school the purely intellectual tasks are relatively easy for the pupil of high intellectual ability. In many such cases, it can be presumed that the primary challenge to the pupil is not to his intellectual, but to his "moral," capacities. On the whole, the progressive movement seems to have leaned in the direction of giving enhanced emphasis to this component, suggesting that of the two, it has tended to become the more problematical.

The essential point, then, seems to be that the elementary school, regarded in the light of its socialization function, is an agency which differentiates the school class broadly along a single continuum of achievement, the content of which is relative excellence in living up to the expectations imposed by the teacher as an agent of the adult society. The criteria of this achievement

are, generally speaking, undifferentiated into the cognitive or technical component and the moral or "social" component. But with respect to its bearing on societal values, it is broadly a differentiation of *levels* of capacity to act in accord with these values. Though the relation is far from neatly uniform, this differentiation underlies the processes of selection for levels of status and role in the adult society.

Next, a few words should be said about the out-of-school context in which this process goes on. Besides the school class, there are clearly two primary social structures in which the child participates: the family and the child's informal "peer group."

Family and Peer Group in Relation to the School Class

The school age child, of course, continues to live in the parental household and to be highly dependent, emotionally as well as instrumentally, on his parents. But he is now spending several hours a day away from home, subject to a discipline and a reward system which are essentially independent of that administered by the parents. Moreover, the range of this independence gradually increases. As he grows older, he is permitted to range further territorially with neither parental nor school supervision, and to do an increasing range of things. He often gets an allowance for personal spending and begins to earn some money of his own. Generally, however, the emotional problem of dependence-independence continues to be a very salient one through this period, frequently with manifestations by the child of compulsive independence.

detailed adult supervision expands. These associations are tied to the family, on the one hand, in that the homes and yards of children who are neighbors and the adjacent streets serve as locations for their activities; and to the school, on the other hand, in that play periods and going to and from school provide occasions for informal association, even though organized extracurricular activities are introduced only later. Ways of bringing some of this activity under another sort of adult supervision are found in such organizations as the boy and girl scouts.

Two sociological characteristics of peer groups at this age are particularly striking. One is the fluidity of their boundaries, with individual children drifting into and out of associations. This element of "voluntary association" contrasts strikingly with the child's ascribed membership in the family and the school class, over which he has no control. The second characteristic is the peer group's sharp segregation by sex. To a striking degree this is enforced by the children themselves rather than by adults.

The psychological functions of peer association are suggested by these two characteristics. On the one hand, the peer group may be regarded as a field for the exercise of independence from adult control; hence it is not surprising that it is often a focus of behavior which goes beyond independence from adults to the range of adult-disapproved behavior; when this happens, it is the seed bed from which the extremists go over into delinquency. But another very important function is to provide the child a source of non-adult approval and acceptance. These depend on "technical" and "moral" criteria as diffuse as those required in the school situation. On the one hand, the peer group is a field for acquiring and

displaying various types of "prowess"; for boys this is especially the physical prowess which may later ripen into athletic achievement. On the other hand, it is a matter of gaining acceptance from desirable peers as "belonging" in the group, which later ripens into the conception of the popular teen-ager, the "right guy." Thus the adult parents are augmented by age-peers as a source of rewards for performance and of security in acceptance.

The importance of the peer group for socialization in our type of society should be clear. The motivational foundations of character are inevitably first laid down through identification with parents, who are generation-superiors, and the generation difference is a type example of a hierarchical status difference. But an immense part of the individual's adult role performance will have to be in association with status-equals or near-equals. In this situation it is important to have a reorganization of the motivational structure so that the original dominance of the hierarchical axis is modified to strengthen the egalitarian components. The peer group plays a prominent part in this process.

Sex segregation of latency period peer groups may be regarded as a process of reinforcement of sex-role identification. Through intensive association with sex-peers and involvement in sex-typed activities, they strongly reinforce belongingness with other members of the same sex and contrast with the opposite sex. This is the more important because in the co-educational school a set of forces operates which specifically plays down sex-role differentiation.

It is notable that the latency period sex-role pattern, instead of institutionalizing relations to members of the opposite sex, is characterized by an

avoidance of such relations, which only in adolescence gives way to dating. This avoidance is clearly associated with the process of reorganization of the erotic components of motivational structure. The pre-oedipal objects of erotic attachment were both intra-familial and generation-superior. In both respects there must be a fundamental shift by the time the child reaches adulthood. I would suggest that one of the main functions of the avoidance pattern is to help cope with the psychological difficulty of overcoming the earlier incestuous attachments, and hence to prepare the child for assuming an attachment to an age-mate of opposite sex later.

Seen in this perspective, the socialization function of the school class assumes a particular significance. The socialization functions of the family by this time are relatively residual, though their importance should not be underestimated. But the school remains adult-controlled and, moreover, induces basically the same kind of identification as was induced by the family in the child's pre-oedipal stage. This is to say that the learning of achievement-motivation is, psychologically speaking, a process of identification with the teacher, of doing well in school in order to please the teacher (often backed by the parents) in the same sense in which a pre-oedipal child learns new skills in order to please his mother.

In this connection I maintain that what is internalized through the process of identification is a reciprocal pattern of role-relationships. Unless there is a drastic failure of internalization altogether, not just one, but both sides of the interaction will be internalized. There will, however, be an emphasis on one or the other, so that some children will more nearly identify with the socializing agent,

and others will more nearly identify with the opposite role. Thus, in the pre-oedipal stage, the "independent" child has identified more with the parent, and the "dependent" one with the child-role vis-à-vis the parent.

In school the teacher is institutionally defined as superior to any pupil in knowledge of curriculum subject-matter and in responsibility as a good citizen of the school. In so far as the school class tends to be bifurcated (and of course the dichotomization is far from absolute), it will broadly be on the basis, on the one hand, of identification with the teacher, or acceptance of her role as a model; and, on the other hand, of identification with the pupil peer group. This bifurcation of the class on the basis of identification with teacher or with peer group so strikingly corresponds with the bifurcation into college-goers and non-college-goers that it would be hard to avoid the hypothesis that this structural dichotomization in the school system is the primary source of the selective dichotomization. Of course in detail the relationship is blurred, but certainly not more so than in a great many other fields of comparable analytical complexity.

These considerations suggest an interpretation of some features of the elementary teacher role in American society. The first major step in socialization, beyond that in the family, takes place in the elementary school, so it seems reasonable to expect that the teacher-figure should be characterized by a combination of similarities to and differences from parental figures. The teacher, then, is an adult, characterized by the generalized superiority, which a parent also has, of adult status relative to children. She is not, however, ascriptively related to her pupils, but is performing an occupational role—a role, however, in which the recipients

detailed adult supervision expands. These associations are tied to the family, on the one hand, in that the homes and yards of children who are neighbors and the adjacent streets serve as locations for their activities; and to the school, on the other hand, in that play periods and going to and from school provide occasions for informal association, even though organized extracurricular activities are introduced only later. Ways of bringing some of this activity under another sort of adult supervision are found in such organizations as the boy and girl scouts.

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of her services are tightly bound in solidarity to her and to each other. Furthermore, compared to a parent's, her responsibility to them is much more universalistic, this being reinforced, as we saw, by the size of the class; it is also much more oriented to performance rather than to solicitude for the emotional "needs" of the children. She is not entitled to suppress the distinction between high and low achievers, just because not being able to be included among the high group would be too hard on little Johnny—however much tendencies in this direction appear as deviant patterns. A mother, on the other hand, must give first priority to the needs of her child, regardless of his capacities to achieve.

It is also significant for the parallel of the elementary school class with the family that the teacher is normally a woman. As background it should be noted that in most European systems until recently, and often today in our private parochial and non-sectarian schools, the sexes have been segregated and each sex group has been taught by teachers of their own sex. Given co-education, however, the woman teacher represents continuity with the role of the mother. Precisely the lack of differentiation in the elementary school "curriculum" between the components of subject-matter competence and social responsibility fits in with the greater diffuseness of the feminine role.

But at the same time, it is essential that the teacher is not a mother to her pupils, but must insist on universalistic norms and the differential reward of achievement. Above all she must be the agent of bringing about and legitimizing a differentiation of the school class on an achievement axis. This aspect of her role is furthered by the fact that in American society the feminine role is less confined to the familial context than in most other societies, but

joins the masculine in occupational and associational concerns, though still with a greater relative emphasis on the family. Through identification with their teacher, children of both sexes learn that the category "woman" is not co-extensive with "mother" (and future wife), but that the feminine role-personality is more complex than that.

In this connection it may well be that there is a relation to the once-controversial issue of the marriage of women teachers. If the differentiation between what may be called the maternal and the occupational components of the feminine role is incomplete and insecure, confusion between them may be avoided by insuring that both are not performed by the same persons. The "old maid" teacher of American tradition may thus be thought of as having renounced the maternal role in favor of the occupational.⁴ Recently, however, the highly affective concern over the issue of married women's teaching has conspicuously abated, and their actual participation has greatly increased. It may be suggested that this change is associated with a change in the feminine role, the most conspicuous feature of which is the general social sanctioning of participation of women in the labor force, not only prior to marriage, but also after marriage. This I should interpret as a process of structural differentiation in that the same category of persons is permitted and even expected to engage in a more complex set of role-functions than before.

The process of identification with the teacher which has been postulated

⁴ It is worth noting that the Catholic parochial school system is in line with the more general older American tradition, in that the typical teacher is a nun. The only difference in this respect is the sharp religious symbolization of the difference between mother and teacher.

here is furthered by the fact that in the elementary grades the child typically has one teacher, just as in the pre-oedipal period he had one parent, the mother, who was the focus of his object-relations. The continuity between the two phases is also favored by the fact that the teacher, like the mother, is a woman. But, if she acted only like a mother, there would be no genuine reorganization of the pupil's personality system. This reorganization is furthered by the features of the teacher role which differentiate it from the maternal. One further point is that while a child has one main teacher in each grade, he will usually have a new teacher when he progresses to the next higher grade. He is thus accustomed to the fact that teachers are, unlike mothers, "interchangeable" in a certain sense. The school year is long enough to form an important relationship to a particular teacher, but not long enough for a highly particularistic attachment to crystallize. More than in the parent-child relationship, in school the child must internalize his relationship to the teacher's *role* rather than her particular personality; this is a major step in the internalization of universalistic patterns.

Socialization and Selection in the Elementary School

To conclude this discussion of the elementary school class, something should be said about the fundamental conditions underlying the process which is, as we have seen, simultaneously (1) an emancipation of the child from primary emotional attachment to his family, (2) an internalization of a level of societal values and norms that is a step higher than those he can learn in his family alone, (3) a differentiation of the school class in terms both of actual achievement and of

differential *valuation* of achievement, and (4) from society's point of view, a selection and allocation of its human resources relative to the adult role system.

Probably the most fundamental condition underlying this process is the sharing of common values by the two adult agencies involved—the family and the school. In this case the core is the shared valuation of *achievement*. It includes, above all, recognition that it is fair to give differential rewards for different levels of achievement, so long as there has been fair access to opportunity, and fair that these rewards lead on to higher-order opportunities for the successful. There is thus a basic sense in which the elementary school class is an embodiment of the fundamental American value of equality of opportunity, in that it places value *both* on initial equality and on differential achievement.

As a second condition, however, the rigor of this valuational pattern must be tempered by allowance for the difficulties and needs of the young child. Here the quasi-motherliness of the woman teacher plays an important part. Through her the school system, assisted by other agencies, attempts to minimize the insecurity resulting from the pressures to learn, by providing a certain amount of emotional support defined in terms of what is due to a child of a given age level. In this respect, however, the role of the school is relatively small. The underlying foundation of support is given in the home, and as we have seen, an important supplement to it can be provided by the informal peer associations of the child. It may be suggested that the development of extreme patterns of alienation from the school is often related to inadequate support in these respects.

Third, there must be a process of

selective rewarding of valued performance. Here the teacher is clearly the primary agent, though the more progressive modes of education attempt to enlist classmates more systematically than in the traditional pattern. This is the process that is the direct source of intra-class differentiation along the achievement axis.

The final condition is that this initial differentiation tends to bring about a status system in the class, in which not only the immediate results of school work, but a whole series of influences, converge to consolidate different expectations which may be thought of as the children's "levels of aspiration." Generally some differentiation of friendship groups along this line occurs, though it is important that it is by no means complete, and that children are sensitive to the attitudes not only of their own friends, but of others.

Within this general discussion of processes and conditions, it is important to distinguish, as I have attempted to do all along, the socialization of the individual from the selective allocation of contingents to future roles. For the individual, the old familial identification is broken up (the family of orientation becomes, in Freudian terms, a "lost object") and a new identification is gradually built up, providing the first-order structure of the child's identity apart from his originally ascribed identity as son or daughter of the "Joneses." He both transcends his familial identification in favor of a more independent one and comes to occupy a differentiated status within the new system. His personal status is inevitably a direct function of the position he achieves, primarily in the formal school class and secondarily in the informal peer group structure. In spite of the sense in which achievement-ranking takes place along

a continuum, I have put forward reasons to suggest that, with respect to this status, there is an important differentiation into two broad, relatively distinct levels, and that his position on one or the other enters into the individual's definition of his own identity. To an important degree this process of differentiation is independent of the socio-economic status of his family in the community, which to the child is a prior ascribed status.

When we look at the same system as a selective mechanism from the societal point of view, some further considerations become important. First, it may be noted that the valuation of achievement and its sharing by the family and school not only provides the appropriate values for internalization by individuals, but also performs a crucial integrative function for the system. Differentiation of the class along the achievement axis is inevitably a source of strain, because it confers higher rewards and privileges on one contingent than on another within the same system. This common valuation helps make possible the acceptance of the crucial differentiation, especially by the losers in the competition. Here it is an essential point that this *common* value on achievement is shared by units with different statuses in the system. It cuts across the differentiation of families by socioeconomic status. It is necessary that there be realistic opportunity and that the teacher can be relied on to implement it by being "fair" and rewarding achievement by whoever shows capacity for it. The fact is crucial that the distribution of abilities, though correlated with family status, clearly does not coincide with it. There can then be a genuine selective process within a set of "rules of the game."

This commitment to common values is not, however, the sole integrative

mechanism counteracting the strain imposed by differentiation. Not only does the individual pupil enjoy familial support, but teachers also like and indeed "respect" pupils on bases independent of achievement-status, and peer-group friendship lines, though correlated with position on the achievement scale, again by no means coincide with it, but cross-cut it. Thus there are cross-cutting lines of solidarity which mitigate the strains generated by rewarding achievement differentially.⁵

It is only *within* this framework of institutionalized solidarity that the crucial selective process goes on through selective rewarding and the consolidation of its results into a status-differentiation within the school class. We have called special attention to the impact of the selective process on the

⁵ In this, as in several other respects, there is a parallel to other important allocative processes in the society. A striking example is the voting process by which political support is allocated between party candidates. Here, the strain arises from the fact that one candidate and his party will come to enjoy all the perquisites—above all the power—of office, while the other will be excluded for the time being from these. This strain is mitigated, on the one hand, by the common commitment to constitutional procedure, and, on the other hand, by the fact that the non-political bases of social solidarity, which figure so prominently as determinants of voting behavior, still cut across party lines. The average person is, in various of his roles, associated with people whose political preference is different from his own; he therefore could not regard the opposite party as composed of unmitigated scoundrels without introducing a rift within the groups to which he is attached. This feature of the electorate's structure is brought out strongly in B. R. Berelson, P. F. Lazarsfeld, and W. N. McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954). The conceptual analysis of it is developed in my own paper, "Voting and the Equilibrium of the American Political System" in *American Voting Behavior*, ed. E. Burdick and A. J. Brodbeck (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1959).

children of relatively high ability but low family status. Precisely in this group, but pervading school classes generally, is another parallel to what was found in the studies of voting behavior.⁶ In the voting studies it was found that the "shifters"—those voters who were transferring their allegiance from one major party to the other—tended, on the one hand, to be the "cross-pressured" people, who had multiple status characteristics and group allegiances which predisposed them simultaneously to vote in opposite directions. The analogy in the school class is clearly to the children for whom ability and family status do not coincide. On the other hand, it was precisely in this group of cross-pressured voters that political "indifference" was most conspicuous. Non-voting was particularly prevalent in this group, as was a generally cool emotional tone toward a campaign. The suggestion is that some of the pupil "indifference" to school performance may have a similar origin. This is clearly a complex phenomenon and cannot be further analyzed here. But rather than suggesting, as is usual on common sense grounds, that indifference to school work represents an "alienation" from cultural and intellectual values, I would suggest exactly the opposite: that an important component of such indifference, including in extreme cases overt revolt against school discipline, is connected with the fact that the stakes, as in politics, are very high indeed. Those pupils who are exposed to contradictory pressures are likely to be ambivalent; at the same time, the personal stakes for them are higher than for others, because what happens in school may make much more of a difference for their futures than for the others, in whom ability and family

⁶ *Ibid.*

status point to the same expectations for the future. In particular for the upwardly mobile pupils, too much emphasis on school success would pointedly suggest "burning their bridges" of association with their families and status peers. This phenomenon seems to operate even in elementary school, although it grows somewhat more conspicuous later. In general I think that an important part of the anti-intellectualism in American youth culture stems from the *importance* of the selective process through the educational system rather than the opposite.

One further major point should be made in this analysis. As we have noted, the general trend of American society has been toward a rapid upgrading in the educational status of the population. This means that, relative to past expectations, with each generation there is increased pressure to educational achievement, often associated with parents' occupational ambitions for their children.⁷ To a sociologist this is a more or less classical situation of anomic strain, and the youth-culture ideology which plays down intellectual interests and school performance seems to fit in this context. The orientation of the youth culture is, in the nature of the case, ambivalent, but for the reasons suggested, the anti-intellectual side of the ambivalence tends to be overtly stressed. One of the reasons for the dominance of the anti-school side of the ideology is that it provides a means of protest against adults, who are at the opposite pole in the socialization situation. In certain respects one would expect that the trend toward greater emphasis on independence, which we have associated with progressive education, would accentuate the strain in

this area and hence the tendency to decry adult expectations. The whole problem should be subjected to a thorough analysis in the light of what we know about ideologies more generally.

The same general considerations are relevant to the much-discussed problem of juvenile delinquency. Both the general upgrading process and the pressure to enhanced independence should be expected to increase strain on the lower, most marginal groups. The analysis of this paper has been concerned with the line between college and non-college contingents; there is, however, another line between those who achieve solid non-college educational status and those for whom adaptation to educational expectations at *any* level is difficult. As the acceptable minimum of educational qualification rises, persons near and below the margin will tend to be pushed into an attitude of repudiation of these expectations. Truancy and delinquency are ways of expressing this repudiation. Thus the very *improvement* of educational standards in the society at large may well be a major factor in the failure of the educational process for a growing number at the lower end of the status and ability distribution. It should therefore not be too easily assumed that delinquency is a symptom of a *general* failure of the educational process.

Differentiation and Selection in the Secondary School

It will not be possible to discuss the secondary school phase of education in nearly as much detail as has been done for the elementary school phase, but it is worthwhile to sketch its main outline in order to place the above analysis in a wider context. Very broadly we may say that the elementary school phase is concerned with the internalization in children of motivation to achievement, and the selec-

⁷ J. A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXIII (Summer, 1953), 186-203.

tion of persons on the basis of differential capacity for achievement. The focus is on the *level* of capacity. In the secondary school phase, on the other hand, the focus is on the differentiation of *qualitative types* of achievement. As in the elementary school, this differentiation cross-cuts sex role. I should also maintain that it cross-cuts the levels of achievement which have been differentiated out in the elementary phase.

In approaching the question of the types of capacity differentiated, it should be kept in mind that secondary school is the principal springboard from which lower-status persons will enter the labor force, whereas those achieving higher status will continue their formal education in college, and some of them beyond. Hence for the lower-status pupils the important line of differentiation should be the one which will lead into broadly different categories of jobs; for the higher-status pupils the differentiation will lead to broadly different roles in college.

My suggestion is that this differentiation separates those two components of achievement which we labelled "cognitive" and "moral" in discussing the elementary phase. Those relatively high in "cognitive" achievement will fit better in specific-function, more or less technical roles; those relatively high in "moral" achievement will tend toward diffuser, more "socially" or "humanly" oriented roles. In jobs not requiring college training, the one category may be thought of as comprising the more impersonal and technical occupations, such as "operatives," mechanics, or clerical workers; the other, as occupations where "human relations" are prominent, such as salesmen and agents of various sorts. At the college level, the differentiation certainly relates to concern, on the one hand, with the specifically intellectual curricular work of college and, on the other hand, with

various types of diffuser responsibility in human relations, such as leadership roles in student government and extra-curricular activities. Again, candidates for post-graduate professional training will probably be drawn mainly from the first of these two groups.

In the structure of the school, there appears to be a gradual transition from the earliest grades through high school, with the changes timed differently in different school systems. The structure emphasized in the first part of this discussion is most clearly marked in the first three "primary" grades. With progression to the higher grades, there is greater frequency of plural teachers, though very generally still a single main teacher. In the sixth grade and sometimes in the fifth, a man as main teacher, though uncommon, is by no means unheard of. With junior high school, however, the shift of pattern becomes more marked, and still more in senior high.

By that time the pupil has several different teachers of both sexes⁸ teaching him different subjects, which are more or less formally organized into different courses—college preparatory and others. Furthermore, with the choice of "elective" subjects, the members of the class in one subject no longer need be exactly the same as in another, so the pupil is much more systematically exposed to association with different people, both adults and age-peers, in different contexts. Moreover, the school he attends is likely to be substantially larger than was his elementary school, and to draw from a wider geographical area. Hence the child is exposed to a wider range of statuses than before, being thrown in with more age-peers whom he does not encounter in his neighborhood; it is less

⁸ Men make up about half (49 per cent) of the public secondary school instructional staff. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1954-56, op. cit., chap. ii, p. 7.*

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⁸ Men make up about half (49 per cent) of the public secondary school instructional staff. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1954-56, op. cit., chap. ii, p. 7.*

likely that his parents will know the parents of any given child with whom he associates. It is thus my impression that the transitions to junior high and senior high school are apt to mean a considerable reshuffling of friendships. Another conspicuous difference between the elementary and secondary levels is the great increase in high school of organized extracurricular activities. Now, for the first time, organized athletics become important, as do a variety of clubs and associations which are school-sponsored and supervised to varying degrees.

Two particularly important shifts in the patterning of youth culture occur in this period. One, of course, is the emergence of more positive cross-sex relationships outside the classroom, through dances, dating, and the like. The other is the much sharper prestige-stratification of informal peer groupings, with indeed an element of snobbery which often exceeds that of the adult community in which the school exists. Here it is important that though there is a broad correspondence between the prestige of friendship groups and the family status of their members, this, like the achievement order of the elementary school, is by no means a simple "mirroring" of the community stratification scale, for a considerable number of lower-status children get accepted into groups including members with higher family status than themselves. This stratified youth system operates as a genuine assortative mechanism; it does not simply reinforce ascribed status.

The prominence of this youth culture in the American secondary school is, in comparison with other societies, one of the hallmarks of the American educational system; it is much less prominent in most European systems. It may be said to constitute a kind of structural fusion between the school class and the peer-group structure of

the elementary period. It seems clear that what I have called the "human relations" oriented contingent of the secondary school pupils are more active and prominent in extracurricular activities, and that this is one of the main foci of their differentiation from the more impersonally- and technically-oriented contingent. The personal qualities figuring most prominently in the human relations contingent can perhaps be summed up as the qualities that make for "popularity." I suggest that, from the point of view of the secondary school's selective function, the youth culture helps to differentiate between types of personalities which will, by and large, play different kinds of roles as adults.

The stratification of youth groups has, as noted, a selective function; it is a bridge between the achievement order and the adult stratification system of the community. But it also has another function. It is a focus of prestige which exists along side of, and is to a degree independent of, the achievement order focussing on school work as such. The attainment of prestige in the informal youth group is itself a form of valued achievement. Hence, among those individuals destined for higher status in society, one can discern two broad types: those whose school work is more or less outstanding and whose informal prestige is relatively satisfactory; and vice versa, those whose informal prestige is outstanding, and school performance satisfactory. Falling below certain minima in either respect would jeopardize the child's claim to belong in the upper group. It is an important point here that those clearly headed for college belong to peer groups which, while often depreciative of intensive concern with studies, also take for granted and reinforce a level of scholastic attainment which is necessary for admission to a good college. Pressure will be put on the

individual who tends to fall below such a standard.

In discussing the elementary school level it will be remembered that we emphasized that the peer group served as an object of emotional dependency displaced from the family. In relation to the pressure for school achievement, therefore, it served at least partially as an expression of the lower-order motivational system out of which the child was in process of being socialized. On its own level, similar things can be said of the adolescent youth culture; it is in part an expression of regressive motivations. This is true of the emphasis on athletics despite its lack of relevance to adult roles, of the "homosexual" undertones of much intensive same-sex friendship, and of a certain "irresponsibility" in attitudes toward the opposite sex—e.g., the exploitative element in the attitudes of boys toward girls. This, however, is by no means the whole story. The youth culture is also a field for practicing the assumption of higher-order responsibilities, for conducting delicate human relations without immediate supervision and learning to accept the consequences. In this connection it is clearly of particular importance to the contingent we have spoken of as specializing in "human relations."

We can, perhaps, distinguish three different levels of crystallization of these youth-culture patterns. The middle one is that which may be considered age-appropriate without clear status-differentiation. The two keynotes here seem to be "being a good fellow" in the sense of general friendliness and being ready to take responsibility in informal social situations where something needs to be done. Above this, we may speak of the higher level of "outstanding" popularity and qualities of "leadership" of the person who is turned to where unusual respon-

sibilities are required. And below the middle level are the youth patterns bordering on delinquency, withdrawal, and generally unacceptable behavior. Only this last level is clearly "regressive" relative to expectations of appropriate behavior for the age-grade. In judging these three levels, however, allowance should be made for a good many nuances. Most adolescents do a certain amount of experimenting with the borderline of the unacceptable patterns; that they should do so is to be expected in view of the pressure toward independence from adults, and of the "collusion" which can be expected in the reciprocal stimulation of age-peers. The question is whether this regressive behavior comes to be confirmed into a major pattern for the personality as a whole. Seen in this perspective, it seems legitimate to maintain that the middle and the higher patterns indicated are the major ones, and that only a minority of adolescents comes to be confirmed in a truly unacceptable pattern of living. This minority may well be a relatively constant proportion of the age cohort, but apart from situations of special social disorganization, the available evidence does not suggest that it has been a progressively growing one in recent years.

The patterning of cross-sex relations in the youth culture clearly foreshadows future marriage and family formation. That it figures so prominently in school is related to the fact that in our society the element of ascription, including direct parental influence, in the choice of a marriage partner is strongly minimized. For the girl, it has the very important significance of reminding her that her adult status is going to be very much concerned with marriage and a family. This basic expectation for the girl stands in a certain tension to the school's curricular coeducation with its relative lack of differentiation by sex. But the extent to

which the feminine role in American society continues to be anchored in marriage and the family should not be allowed to obscure the importance of coeducation. In the first place, the contribution of women in various extra-familial occupations and in community affairs has been rapidly increasing, and certainly higher levels of education have served as a prerequisite to this contribution. At the same time, it is highly important that the woman's familial role should not be regarded as drastically segregated from the cultural concerns of the society as a whole. *The educated woman has important functions as wife and mother, particularly as an influence on her children in backing the schools and impressing on them the importance of education.* It is, I think, broadly true that the immediate responsibility of women for family management has been increasing, though I am very skeptical of the alleged "abdication" of the American male. But precisely in the context of women's increased family responsibility, the influence of the mother both as agent of socialization and as role model is a crucial one. This influence should be evaluated in the light of the general upgrading process. It is very doubtful whether, apart from any other considerations, the motivational prerequisites of the general process could be sustained without sufficiently high education of the women who, as mothers, influence their children.

Conclusion

With the general cultural upgrading process in American society which has been going on for more than a cen-

tury, the educational system has come to play an increasingly vital role. That this should be the case is, in my opinion, a consequence of the general trend to structural differentiation in the society. Relatively speaking, the school is a specialized agency. That it should increasingly have become the principal channel of selection as well as agency of socialization is in line with what one would expect in an increasingly differentiated and progressively more upgraded society. The legend of the "self-made man" has an element of nostalgic romanticism and is destined to become increasingly mythical, if by it is meant not just mobility from humble origins to high status, which does indeed continue to occur, but that the high status was attained through the "school of hard knocks" without the aid of formal education.

The structure of the public school system and the analysis of the ways in which it contributes both to the socialization of individuals and to their allocation to roles in society is, I feel, of vital concern to all students of American society. Notwithstanding the variegated elements in the situation, I think it has been possible to sketch out a few major structural patterns of the public school system and at least to suggest some ways in which they serve these important functions. What could be presented in this paper is the merest outline of such an analysis. It is, however, hoped that it has been carried far enough to suggest a field of vital mutual interest for social scientists on the one hand and those concerned with the actual operation of the schools on the other.

The New Pre-School Mythology: Child-Centered Radicalism

FRANK RIESSMAN

Head start and preschool programs, originally established with grants made by the federally supported anti-poverty program, are now an accepted feature of most large school systems. Some educators have seen them as a panacea for all the education problems of the so-called "disadvantaged," but an increasing number of critics have come to question how effective they can be without fundamental changes in school organization. Riessman discusses the issue of individual versus institutional change in the schools and labels the preschool mythology neither radical nor especially practical in the absence of other profound changes in the schools.

A powerful new educational mythology has appeared in America. In the light of the widely documented inadequacies of the school system, particularly with regard to the disadvantaged child, the new "radicals" propose that we catch this child early and educate him before he arrives at the school. In essence, *pre-school programs attempt to prepare children for the presently inadequate educational system.* The emphasis is not on changing educational institutions but on changing the youngsters to fit into existing programs.

The proponents of this view, such as Charles Silberman, have defined it as "radical." It is a "radicalism" similar to that proposed in the social-action arena, where Silberman believes Saul Alinsky's approach represents a significant departure from the past. (Actually Alinsky simply makes poverty more palatable for poor people by involving them in certain types of social action; he has no program whatever

for changing the institutional structure that produces poverty.)

Operation Head Start changes institutions no more than does Alinsky in his social-action approach. Presumably, Head Start is radical because it gets to the child early, before he has been too damaged by the school system.

This ontogenetic radicalism is in sharp contrast to the radicalism that espouses institutional or structural change as the fundamental approach to changing society and children. Child-centered radicalism sees the world changing through the changing of children. Sociological radicalism denies that the world changes in this fashion and proposes instead that adult institutions must change first, and that child development may then reflect these basic institutional changes.

One is reminded of the simplistic application of psychoanalysis in the nineteen-forties and fifties, which envisioned a changed world as a result of new child-rearing practices. Needless to say, this absurd and innocent view never left the oral (optimist)

Frank Riessman, "The New Pre-School Mythology: Child-Centered Radicalism," *The American Child* (Spring, 1966).

stage. Parents with hostile, anti-human values and relations to society had difficulty bringing up their children in the presumably healthy child-rearing fashion. Those parents that partially succeeded found that their early positive efforts were rapidly vitiated when the child moved into the other institutions surrounding him in the world. One of these institutions, of course, was the school.

Apart from the fact that the new pre-school emphasis is based upon a false radicalism, it suffers from the following difficulties:

It overlooks the fact that, as Martin Deutsch, one of its major proponents, points out, improvements or gains that are easily achieved in pre-school programs *drop away quite rapidly when the children return to traditional programs in traditional schools.*

Deutsch has actually observed this in children in his program. And similarly, in Ypsilanti, Michigan, Dr. David Weickart produced sharp rises in the average IQ's of deprived children through special pre-school experimental programs, but when these children entered the traditional kindergarten their scores fell; there was fall-back. In light of Deutsch's and Weickart's findings, the present hoopla over Operation Head Start and its supposed success is highly questionable. It has been said that improvements have been achieved and that the evaluation studies being conducted will show this. I do not doubt it; but it is far too early to determine how enduring these improvements will be.

The entire pre-school thesis is essentially a compensatory one; that is, it emphasizes deficits rather than strengths. The compensatory approach has already been shown to be a considerable failure, at least judging from the Ford Foundation's program in the Fourteen Great Cities, which utilized this approach with an admitted lack of

success. A much more relevant approach, it would seem, would emphasize positives first, and build the child's basic confidence through utilizing his strengths to overcome weaknesses and deficits. New approaches that use the hip language of the youngsters, role playing, the helper principle, team learning—all based on utilizing the low-income youngsters' style and strength—seem much more promising than the compensatory position.

Contrary to the popular stereotype, numerous reports indicate that disadvantaged youngsters come to kindergarten with considerable curiosity, enthusiasm and freshness—presumably good omens for learning. Unfortunately, these characteristics do not appear to be capitalized on by the school, and before long the child retreats from the school both in attitude and in the educational benefits he derives. (There is considerable evidence that the disadvantaged child's measured IQ declines as he "progresses," or regresses, through school.

Moreover, studies indicate that the parents of these youngsters have a very positive attitude toward education. These parents in overwhelming numbers state that "education is what I missed most in life and want my children to have." (See *The Culturally Deprived Child*, Frank Riessman, Harper and Row, 1962.)

The pre-school strategy postpones delivery of significant results for thirteen years—that is, until the child is an adolescent or an adult. Since I believe that significant developments in our society are now on the agenda, I do not feel like waiting for these present-day four-year-olds to make a major contribution thirteen years from now. I rather prefer that we educate people throughout the school system with particular attention to junior-high-school and high-school youngsters.

New programed learning methods

indicate that it may be possible to teach the entire academic program from grade school through high school in less than eighteen months. In other words, we can now think of basic approaches that are habilitative at all ages rather than rehabilitative.

The pre-school thesis is predicated on the assumption that deprivation in the early life of the disadvantaged child produces a basic retardation that is essentially impossible to reverse or overcome later in life. Thus, it is argued, special educational efforts must be introduced while the child is still very young. However, a number of current studies indicate that *illiterate youngsters and adults at all ages have been able to learn reading and other subjects quite rapidly*. Part of this is due to the fact that we now have available new excellent techniques, such as the Initial Teaching Alphabet, which has been shown to be highly effective with illiterate candidates for the army in England. In addition, it should be noted that Howard University's Community Apprentice Program took functionally illiterate, delinquent dropouts and, by a program of *providing jobs with training built in*, rapidly trained research aides, recreation aides and pre-school aides.¹ This program not only enabled them to read but also to do mathematics and even statistics.

The common assumption that "cultural deprivation" destroys intellectual potential is open to attack. Initial results of an IQ test, developed by Dr. Leon Rosenberg of Johns Hopkins University and designed to eliminate cul-

tural advantages in measuring intelligence, indicate that there is no difference between the intelligence of Negro slum children and that of white middle-class children. Most of the standard IQ tests that are used on disadvantaged children are "verbally loaded" with middle-class words and concepts, Dr. Rosenberg says, and even those that are nonverbal depend heavily on experiences not usually had by these children. His tests, relying on matching random forms, yielded results that differed drastically from scores on standard IQ tests for a group of Negro slum children. The scores of white middle-class children on the test correlated closely with their standard-IQ-test scores.

The pre-school strategy is based on a loose over-generalization of various animal experiments and special human (or inhuman) experiments on sensory deprivation. Implications of these studies are projected to disadvantaged children on the presumed ground that the deprivations they have experienced are similar to the severe deprivations endured by the subjects in the special experiments. This entire thesis overlooks the significance of a "levels" approach (Novikoff's Theory of Integrative Levels): it over-simplifies in extrapolating from one level (e.g., animal level) to another (human level). It also ignores the tremendous impact of television in stimulating all children—not just the advantaged.

On the positive side, Head Start did achieve the following objectives:

It captured the imagination of large numbers of people who hitherto had been unconcerned about disadvantaged children; it began to acquaint teachers who became interested in the Head Start program with new approaches to disadvantaged youngsters; it established a model for the employment of non-professionals as pre-school aides and, indeed, these non-professionals were perhaps the most effective part

¹ See Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, *New Careers for the Poor* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1965), for a discussion of the Community Apprentice Program, which provides a model for the proposed development of millions of non-professional jobs and careers. This may, indeed, be a radical proposal because it will allow poor people to become non-poor and will stimulate institutional changes in a variety of areas.

of the program; and it introduced health checkups that are extremely valuable for economically deprived youth.

There is no question that pre-school programs have a place in a total school strategy. At issue is giving them a central place in this strategy, thus direct-

ing us away from an emphasis on the school itself. Particularly naive is the notion that the pre-school strategy is some fundamental or revolutionary approach. As a major strategy, it can be highly regressive and distractive from major institutional changes.

The Modern High School: A Profile

EDGAR Z. FRIEDENBERG

One of the most interesting, if not productive, avenues of observation within the school has been youth and the high school subculture. Friedenberg criticizes the school's tendency to infantilize adolescence and to serve the community by seeing to it that the "kind of people who get ahead" are those who will support the system.

Not far from Los Angeles, though rather nearer to Boston, may be located the town of Milgrim, in which Milgrim High School is clearly the most costly and impressive structure. Milgrim is not a suburb. Although it is only fifty miles from a large and dishonorable city and a part of its conurbation, comparatively few Milgrimites commute to the city for work. Milgrim is an agricultural village which has outgrown its nervous system; its accustomed modes of social integration have not yet even begun to relate its present, recently acquired inhabitants to one another. So, though it is not a suburb, Milgrim is not a community either.

Milgrim's recent, fulminating growth is largely attributable to the rapid development of light industry in the outer suburbs, with a resulting demand for skilled labor. But within the past few years, further economic development

has created a steady demand for labor that is not skilled. In an area that is by no means known for its racial tolerance or political liberalism, Milgrim has acquired, through no wish of its own, a sizable Negro and Puerto Rican minority. On the shabby outskirts of town, a number of groceries label themselves Spanish-American. The advanced class in Spanish at Milgrim High School makes a joyful noise—about the only one to be heard.

Estimates of the proportion of the student body at Milgrim who are, in the ethnocentric language of demography, non-white, vary enormously. Some students who are clearly middle-class and of pinkish-gray color sometimes speak as if they themselves were a besieged minority. More responsible staff members produce estimates of from 12 to 30 per cent. Observations in the corridors and lunchrooms favor the lower figure. They also establish clearly that the non-whites are orderly and well behaved, though somewhat

Edgar Z. Friedenberg, "The Modern High School: A Profile," *Commentary*, 36, (November, 1963), 373-380.

more forceful in their movements and manner of speech than their light-skinned colleagues.

What is Milgrim High like? It is a big, expensive building, on spacious but barren grounds. Every door is at the end of a corridor; there is no reception area, no public space in which one can adjust to the transition from the outside world. Between class periods the corridors are tumultuously crowded; during them they are empty. But at both times they are guarded by teachers and students on patrol duty. Patrol duty does not consist primarily in the policing of congested throngs of moving students, or the guarding of property from damage. Its principal function is the checking of corridor passes. Between classes, no student may walk down the corridor without a form, signed by a teacher, telling where he is coming from, where he is going, and the time, to the minute, during which the pass is valid. A student caught in the corridor without such a pass is sent or taken to the office; there a detention slip is made out against him, and he is required to remain after school for two or three hours. He may do his homework during this time, but he may not leave his seat or talk.

There is no physical freedom whatever at Milgrim. Except during class breaks, the lavatories are kept locked, so that a student must not only obtain a pass but find the custodian and induce him to open the facility. Indeed Milgrim High's most memorable arrangements are its corridor passes and its johns; they dominate social interaction. "Good morning, Mr. Smith," an attractive girl will say pleasantly to one of her teachers in the corridor. "Linda, do you have a pass to be in your locker after the bell rings?" is his greeting in reply. There are more classifications of washrooms than there must have been in the Confederate

Navy. The common sort, marked just "Boys" and "Girls," are generally locked. Then there are some marked, "Teachers, Men" and "Teachers, Women," unlocked. Near the auditorium are two others marked simply, "Men" and "Women," which are intended primarily for the public when the auditorium is being used for some function. During the school day cardboard signs saying "Adults Only" are placed on these doors. Girding up my maturity, I used this men's room during my stay at Milgrim. Usually it was empty; but once, as soon as the door clicked behind me, a teacher who had been concealed in the cubicle began jumping up and down to peer over his partition and verify my adulthood.

He was not a voyeur; he was checking on smoking. At most public high schools, students are forbidden to smoke, and this is probably the most common source of friction with authorities. It focuses, naturally, on the washrooms which are the only place students can go where teachers are not supposed to be. Milgrim, for a time, was more liberal than most; last year its administration designated an area behind the school where seniors might smoke during their lunch period. But, as a number of students explained to me during interviews, some of these seniors had "abused the privilege" by lighting up before they got into the area, and the privilege had been withdrawn. No student, however, questioned that smoking was a privilege rather than a right.

The concept of privilege is important at Milgrim. Teachers go to the head of the chow line at lunch; whenever I would attempt quietly to stand in line the teacher on hall duty would remonstrate with me. He was right, probably; I was fouling up an entire informal social system by my ostentation. Students on hall patrol also were

his need to give in to his feelings, or swing out in his own style, or creep off and pull himself together.

The little things shock most. High-school students—and not just, or even particularly, at Milgrim—have a prisoner's sense of time. They don't know what time it is outside. The research which occasioned my presence at Milgrim, Hartsburgh, and the other schools in my study required me to interview each of twenty-five to thirty students at each school three times. My first appointment with each student was set up by his guidance counselor; I would make the next appointment directly with the student and issue him the passes he needed to keep it. The student has no *open* time at his own disposal; he has to select the period he can miss with least loss to himself. Students well-adapted to the school usually pick study halls; poorer or more troublesome students pick the times of their most disagreeable classes; both avoid cutting classes in which the teacher is likely to respond vindictively to their absence. Most students, when asked when they would like to come for their next interview, replied, "I can come any time." When I pointed out to them that there must, after all, be some times that would be more convenient for them than others, they would say, "Well tomorrow, fourth period" or whatever. But hardly any of them knew when this would be in clock time. High-school classes emphasize the importance of punctuality by beginning at regular but uneven times like 10:43 and 11:27, which are, indeed, hard to remember; and the students did not know when this was.

How typical is all this? The elements of the composition—the passes, the tight scheduling, the reliance on threats of detention or suspension as modes of social control are nearly universal. The usurpation of any possible area of student initiative, physical or

mental, is about as universal. Milgrim forbids boys to wear trousers that end more than six inches above the floor, and has personnel fully capable of measuring them. But most high schools have some kind of dress regulation; I know of none that accepts and relies on the tastes of students.

There are differences, to be sure, in tone; and these matter. They greatly affect the impact of the place on students. Take, for comparison and contrast, Hartsburgh High. Not fifteen miles from Milgrim, Hartsburgh is an utterly different community. It is larger, more compact, and more suburban; more of a place. Hartsburgh High is much more dominantly middle class and there are few Negroes in the high school there.

First impressions of Hartsburgh High are almost bound to be favorable. The building, like Milgrim, is new; unlike Milgrim's, it is handsome. External walls are mostly glass, which gives a feeling of light, air, and space. At Hartsburgh there is none of the snarling, overt hostility that taints the atmosphere at Milgrim. There are no raucous buzzers; no bells of any kind. Instead, there are little blinker lights arranged like the Mexican flag. The green light blinks and the period is over; the white light signals a warning; when the red light blinks it is time to be in your classroom. Dress regulations exist but are less rigorous than at Milgrim. Every Wednesday, however, is dress-up day; boys are expected to wear ties and jackets or jacket-sweaters, the girls wear dresses rather than skirts and sweaters. The reason is that on Wednesday the school day ends with an extra hour of required assembly and, as the students explain, there are often outside visitors for whom they are expected to look their best.

Students at Hartsburgh seem much more relaxed than at Milgrim. In the grounds outside the main entrance,

Both are preoccupied with good public relations as they understand them. Both are inflexible, highly authoritarian men. But their situations are different.

At Milgrim there is a strong district superintendent; imaginative if not particularly humane, he is oriented toward the national educational scene. He likes to have projects, particularly in research guidance. Guidance officers report through their chairman directly to him, not to the building principal; and the guidance staff is competent, tough, and completely professional. When wrangles occur over the welfare of a student they are likely to be open, with the principal and the guidance director as antagonists; both avoid such encounters if possible, and neither can count on the support of the district office; but when an outside force—like an outraged parent—precipitates a conflict, it is fought out. At Hartsburgh, the district superintendent is primarily interested in running a tight ship with no problems. To this end, he backs the authority of the principal whenever this might be challenged. The guidance office is vestigial and concerned primarily with college placement and public relations in the sense of inducing students to behave in socially acceptable ways with a minimum of fuss.

In these quite different contexts, demographic differences in the student bodies have crucial consequences. At Milgrim, the working-class students are not dominant—they have not quite enough self-confidence or nearly enough social savvy to be—but they are close enough to it to be a real threat to the nice, college-bound youngsters who set the tone in their elementary and junior high school and who expect to go on dominating the high school. These view the rapid influx of lower-status students as a rising wave that can engulf them, while the newcomers,

many of whom are recent migrants or high-school transfers from the city, can remember schools in which they felt more at home.

The result is both to split and to polarize student feeling about the school, its administration, and other students. Nobody likes Milgrim High. But the middle-class students feel that what has ruined it is the lower-class students, and that the punitive constraint with which the school is run is necessary to keep them in line. In some cases these students approach paranoia: one girl—commenting on a mythical high school described in one of our semi-projective research instruments—said, “Well, it says here that the majority of the students are Negro—about a third” (the actual statement is “about a fifth”).

The working-class students are hard-pressed; but being hard-pressed they are often fairly realistic about their position. If the Citizenship Corps that functions so smoothly and smugly at Hartsburgh were to be installed at Milgrim, those who actually turned people in and got them in trouble would pretty certainly receive some after-school instruction in the way social classes differ in values and in the propensity for non-verbal self-expression. At Milgrim, the working-class kids know where they stand and stand there. They are exceptionally easy to interview because the interviewer need not be compulsively non-directive. Once they sense that they are respected, they respond enthusiastically and with great courtesy. But they do not alter their position to give the interviewer what they think he wants, or become notably anxious at disagreeing with him. They are very concrete in handling experience and are not given to generalization. Most of them seem to have liked their elementary school, and they share the general American respect for education down to the last

cliché—but then one will add, as an afterthought, not bothering even to be contemptuous, “Of course, you can’t respect *this* school.” They deal with their situation there in correspondingly concrete terms. Both schools had student courts last year, for example, and Hartsburgh still does, though few students not in the Citizenship Corps pay much attention to it. Student traffic corpsmen give much attention to it. Student traffic corpsmen give out tickets for corridor offenses, and these culprits are brought before an elected student judge with an administrative official of the school present as adviser. But Milgrim had a student court last year that quickly became notorious. The “hoody element” got control of it, and since most of the defendants were their buddies, they were either acquitted or discharged on pleas of insanity. The court was disbanded.

The struggle at Milgrim is therefore pretty open, though none of the protagonists see it as a struggle for freedom or could define its issues in terms of principles. The upper-status students merely assent to the way the school is run, much as middle-class white Southerners assent to what the sheriff’s office does, while the lower-status students move, or get pushed, from one embroilment to the next without ever quite realizing that what is happening to them is part of a general social pattern. At Hartsburgh the few lower-status students can easily be ignored rather than feared by their middle-class compeers who set the tone. They are not sufficiently numerous or aggressive to threaten the middle-class youngsters or their folkways; but, for the same reason, they do not force the middle-class youngsters to make common cause with the administration. The administration, like forces of law and order generally in the United States, is accepted without deference

as a part of the way things are and work. Americans rarely expect authority to be either intelligent or forthright; it looks out for its own interests as best it can. Reformers and troublemakers only make it nervous and therefore worse; the best thing is to take advantage of it when it can help you and at other times to go on living your own life and let it try to stop you.

This is what the Hartsburgh students usually do, and, on the whole, the results are pleasant. The youngsters, being to some degree ivy, do not constantly remind the teachers, as the Milgrim students do, that their jobs have no connection with academic scholarship. Many of the teachers, for their part, act and sound like college instructors, do as competent a job, and enjoy some of the same satisfactions. The whole operation moves smoothly. Both Milgrim and Hartsburgh are valid examples—though of very different aspects—of American democracy in action. And in neither could a student learn as much about civil liberty as a Missouri mule knows at birth.

What is learned in high school, or for that matter anywhere at all, depends far less on what is taught than on what one actually experiences in the place. The quality of instruction in high school varies from sheer rot to imaginative and highly skilled teaching. But classroom content is often handled at a creditable level and is not in itself the source of the major difficulty. Both at Milgrim and Hartsburgh, for example, the students felt that they were receiving competent instruction and that this was an undertaking the school tried seriously to handle. I doubt, however, that this makes up for much of the damage to which high-school students are systematically subjected. What is formally taught is just not that important, compared to the

but by a process of continuous and almost entirely unconscious emotional homeostasis, in which each member affects and accommodates to the needs, feelings, fantasy life, and character structure of the others. This may be, and often is, a terribly destructive process; I intend no defense of the family as a social institution. But children grow up in homes or the remnants of homes; are in physical fact dependent on parents, and too intimately related to them to permit their area of freedom to be precisely defined. This is not because they have no rights or are entitled to less respect than adults, but because intimacy conditions freedom and growth in ways too subtle and continuous to be defined as overt acts.

Free societies depend on their members to learn early and thoroughly that public authority is not like that of the family; that it cannot be expected—or trusted—to respond with sensitivity and intimate perception to the needs of individuals but must rely basically, though as humanely as possible, on the impartial application of general formulae. This means that it must be kept functional, specialized, and limited to matters of public policy; the meshes of the law are too coarse to be worn to the skin. Especially in an open society, where people of very different backgrounds and value systems must function together, it would seem obvious that each must understand that he may not push others further than their common undertaking demands, or impose upon them a manner of life that they feel to be alien.

After the family, the school is the first social institution an individual must deal with—the first place in which he learns to handle himself with strangers. The school establishes the pattern of his subsequent assumptions as to what relations between the individual and society are appropriate

and which constitute invasions of privacy and constraints on his spirit—what the British, with exquisite precision, call “taking a liberty.” But the American public school evolved as a melting pot, under the assumption that it had not merely the right but the duty to impose a common standard of genteel decency on a polyglot body of immigrants’ children and thus insure their assimilation into the better life of the American dream. It accepted, also, the tacit assumption that genteel decency was as far as it could go. If America has generally been governed by the practical man’s impatience with other individuals’ rights, it has also accepted the practical man’s determination to preserve his property by discouraging public extravagance. With its neglect of personal privacy and individual autonomy the school incorporates a considerable measure of Galbraith’s “public squalor.” The plant may be expensive—for this is capital goods; but little is provided graciously, liberally, simply as an amenity, either to teachers or students, though administrative offices have begun to assume an executive look.

The first thing the student learns, then, is that as a minor, he is subject to peculiar restraints; the second is that these restraints are general, not limited either by custom or by the schools’ presumed commitment to the curriculum. High-school administrators are not professional educators in the sense that a physician, an attorney, or a tax accountant are professionals. They do not, that is, think of themselves as practitioners of a specialized instructional craft, who derive their authority from its requirements. They are specialists in keeping an essentially political enterprise from being strangled by conflicting community attitudes and pressures. They are problem-oriented, and the feelings and needs for

growth of their captive and unenfranchised clientele are the least of their problems; for the status of the "teenager" in the community is so low that even if he rebels, the school is not blamed for the conditions against which he is rebelling. He is simply a truant or a juvenile delinquent; at worst the school has "failed to reach him." What high-school personnel become specialists in, ultimately, is the control of large groups of students even at catastrophic expense to their opportunity to learn. These controls are not exercised primarily to facilitate instruction, and particularly, they are in no way limited to matters bearing on instruction. At several schools in our sample boys had been ordered—sometimes on the complaint of teachers—to shave off beards. One of these boys had played football for the school; he was told that, although the school had no legal authority to require him to shave, he would be barred from the banquet honoring the team unless he complied. Dress regulations are another case in point.

Of course these are petty restrictions, enforced by petty penalties. American high schools are not concentration camps. But I am not complaining about their severity; what disturbs me is what they teach their students concerning the proper relationship of the individual to society, and in this respect the fact that the restrictions and penalties are unimportant in themselves makes matters worse. Gross invasions are more easily recognized for what they are; petty restrictions are only resisted by "troublemakers." What matters in the end is that the school does not take its own business of education seriously enough to mind it.

The effects on the students are manifold. The concepts of dignity and privacy, notably deficient in American adult folkways, are not permitted to

develop here. The school's assumption of custodial control of students implies that power and authority are indistinguishable. If the school's authority is not limited to matters pertaining to education, it cannot be derived from its educational responsibilities. It is a naked, empirical fact, to be accepted or controverted according to the possibilities of the moment. In such a world, power counts more than legitimacy; if you don't have power, it is naïve to think you have rights that must be respected . . . wise up. High school students experience regulation only as control, not as protection; they know, for example, that the principal will generally uphold the teacher in any conflict with a student, regardless of the merits of the case. Translated into the high-school idiom, *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re* becomes "If you get caught, it's just your ass."

Students do not often resent this; that is the tragedy. All weakness tends to corrupt, and impotence corrupts absolutely. Identifying, as the weak must, with the more powerful and frustrating of the forces that impinge upon them, they accept the school as the way life is and close their minds against the anxiety of perceiving alternatives. Many students like high school; others loathe and fear it. But even the latter do not object to it on principle; the school effectively obstructs their learning of the principles on which objection might be based; though these are among the principles that, we boast, distinguish us from totalitarian societies.

Yet, finally, the consequence of continuing through adolescence to submit to diffuse authority that is not derived from the task at hand—as a doctor's orders or the training regulations of an athletic coach, for example, usually are—is more serious than political incompetence or weakness of

character. There is a general arrest of development. An essential part of growing up is learning that, though differences of power among men lead to brutal consequences, all men are peers; none is omnipotent, none derives his potency from magic, but only from his specific competence and function. The policeman represents the majesty of the state, but this does not mean that he can put you in jail; it means, precisely, that he cannot—at least not for long. Any person or agency responsible for handling throngs of young people—especially if he does not like them or is afraid of them—is tempted to claim diffuse authority and snare the youngster in the trailing remnants of childhood emotion which always remain to trip him. Schools succumb to this temptation, and control pupils by reinvoking the sensations of childhood punishment, which remain effective because they were originally selected, with great unconscious guile, to dramatize the child's weakness in the face of authority. "If you act like a bunch of spoiled brats, we'll treat you like a bunch of spoiled brats," is a favorite dictum of sergeants, and school personnel, when their charges begin to show an awkward capacity for independence.

Thus the high school is permitted to infantilize adolescence; in fact, it is encouraged to by the widespread hostility to "teen-agers" and the anxiety about their conduct found throughout our society. It does not allow much maturation to occur during the years

when most maturation would naturally occur. Maturity, to be sure, is not conspicuously characteristic of American adult life, and would almost certainly be a threat to the economy. So perhaps in this, as in much else, the high school is simply the faithful servant of the community.

There are two important ways in which it can render such service. The first of these is through its impact on individuals: on their values, their conception of their personal worth, their patterns of anxiety, and on their mastery and ease in the world—which determine so much of what they think of as their fate. The second function of the school is Darwinian; its biases, though their impact is always on individual youngsters, operate systematically to mold entire social groups. These biases endorse and support the values and patterns of behavior of certain segments of the population, providing their members with the credentials and shibboleths needed for the next stages of their journey, while they instill in others a sense of inferiority and warn the rest of society against them as troublesome and untrustworthy. In this way the school contributes simultaneously to social mobility and to social stratification. It helps see to it that the kind of people who get ahead are the kind who will support the social system it represents, while those who might, through intent or merely by their being, subvert it, are left behind as a salutary moral lesson.

research and development

seven

Twenty-Five Years of Educational Research

BENJAMIN S. BLOOM

Research and development (R & D) has offered a formula for assault on the problems of both agriculture and industry. In both areas, solutions have come chiefly through advancing technology, but also through growing knowledge about human behavior and organizations—through knowledge of how to develop human resources as well as physical and mechanical resources. R & D was, indeed, the germinating seed from which both agrarian and industrial revolutions sprang, and their continuing progress depends on increasing R & D investments in these fields.

Only recently have there been signs of an impending revolution in education and the "science of society," one sign being the investment by the federal government and large private foundations in R & D centers and regional laboratories for the dissemination of research findings. In the past, educational R & D has been voluminous but grossly unsystematic, to such an extent that the informed reader of the endless annotated research bibliographies must be impressed by their weight and surprising hollowness. What is most striking about such research is that it has not been noticeably "productive" (in the sense that R & D in other fields has been); nor has it contributed much of significance to our understanding of the educational process.

Educational research has originated in four principal sources: the NEA, the U.S. Office of Education, state and local school systems, and researchers in schools of education and the behavioral sciences. The principal educational research organization has been the AERA, an affiliate of the NEA. Benjamin Bloom, a psychologist and past president of the AERA, describes the record of educational research in the last 25 years. Since the field has been dominated by psychology, few contributions mentioned are the product of sociologists, and little of the wider context of the schools is

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seen in this perspective. (For a complete survey of educational research the reader is referred to the Encyclopedia of Educational Research and to periodicals of the AERA).

As President of The American Educational Research Association I have been trying to take stock of what we have accomplished during the past quarter of a century. Such stock taking tells as much about the person doing the inventory as it does about the field. Although the President (now Past President) of an organization may believe that his role gives him access to more information and a more objective perspective than is available to others, this is probably one of the delusions fostered by the office.

In any case, it is this writer's hope that each group of educational research workers will be sufficiently provoked by this paper to undertake a similar effort on their own to determine what has been accomplished over the past 25 years by our educational research. Such efforts should take into consideration the ways in which we have worked and should give some thought to the ways in which our efforts in the future can be increasingly effective. Each group will probably see the field from a different perspective, and it is to be hoped that sharing these perspectives and stock taking will enable us to find a better base for our work in the future.

Need for Stock Taking

This is the 50th anniversary of The American Educational Research Association. An anniversary provides a ceremonial occasion for stock taking, but it hardly warrants an effort to do more than engage in the appropriate sentimental reminiscences.

Somewhat greater motivation for the task may be derived from the rapid

increase in federal funding of educational research and development. The increase from the level of support in 1960 has been of the order of 2,000 per cent. This increase has been so rapid that few of us have had the opportunity to assess the overall effects of these funds on educational research, to say nothing about the effects they have had on education. We are all aware that the increases in support are in large measure based on faith in the "magic" of research. The power of research has already been amply demonstrated in medicine, engineering, and agriculture. The effects of research in the natural sciences have also been clearly demonstrated. The case for educational research is yet to be demonstrated. The effects of the new funding on the quantity of educational research is already quite evident. We anticipate marked changes in the quantity and quality of students in educational training programs, and we have already seen the effects of funding in bringing new breeds of workers from many related fields to educational research and development. Stock taking is an inevitable consequence of new governmental funding—let us hope that the best minds in the field of education will share in the making of the inventory.

An even more telling reason for stock taking arises from the new faith in education and the new tasks thrust on it. Education is looked to for solutions to problems of poverty, racial discord, crime and delinquency, urban living, peace, and even for the problems arising from affluence. The new tasks thrust on education require new approaches, new understandings, and

of education in the scheme of things and are interested in making their contributions to educational research and development.

During the past three years I have had an opportunity to visit a number of schools and departments of education and to meet with many research workers through AERA activities, conferences and summer institutes. Although my impressions are highly subjective, I am convinced that the young educational research workers are as able a group of research workers as can be found in any of the social sciences. These young people represent our most valuable asset, and, if properly encouraged and supported in their research, they are likely to make major contributions to the field.

Finally, there is no lack of research output. Educational research workers have no hesitancy about writing up their studies and publishing them. During the last 25 years approximately 70,000 titles were listed in the *Review of Educational Research*. While there is some overlap in that the same article or book may have been listed in several issues of the *Review*, it is clear that we are now annually publishing about 2,500 items that the authors of the reviews regard as contributions to educational research. From the increase in research completed under Office of Education grants, it is safe to predict that publications of educational research will increase rapidly in the near future.

Quantitatively there is no doubt that educational research is a lively and growing field. In terms of manpower and research output it is developing rapidly. There are also some indications that the quality of research personnel is improving, but this is only a highly subjective impression.

Another approach to stock taking is to make an estimate of the signifi-

cant contributions to the field over the past quarter of a century. This is a highly controversial type of inventory and only the most daring or foolish individuals are likely to permit their summaries to be published. It is my hope that although I may find myself in the latter category, others will be stimulated to do the same in order to correct the record.

Methodological Contributions

In some ways education is one of the strongest fields in the behavioral sciences in terms of its contributions to research methodology and its use of complex techniques and technologies for research. With the possible exceptions of psychology and economics, educational research workers have contributed to and used stronger and more powerful research procedures than have other social scientists. Our colleagues in other fields have recognized this and occasionally accuse us of using "elephant guns to shoot at fleas." I do not mean to say that all of our research is characterized by precision and methodological elegance—far from it. What I am trying to say is that research workers dealing with educational problems have contributed to and used very powerful research methods and procedures and that our field does not lag behind other social science fields in this respect.

Especially with respect to *statistical methods*, educational researchers have pioneered, adapted, or used skillfully a great variety of complex procedures. Factor analysis, analysis of variance, multi-variate procedures, sampling methods, and research designs are some of the areas in which educational research workers have made major contributions during the past twenty-five years.

Educational researchers have con-

tributed new computer programs and have made a great deal of use of *computers and computer technology* in their research. In the use of computers for statistical purposes, for research on learning, and for the simulation of individual and group processes of thought and behavior, workers in educational research have been in the forefront.

Advances have been made by educational workers in the *mapping of human characteristics*. The delineation of human aptitudes and abilities by factor analysis and other methods has progressed greatly in the past quarter of a century. Closely related to this have been the developments in the classification of the outcomes of education. These maps have been very useful as bases for further research, and they have helped greatly in the communication process. I regard such maps as methodological contributions because they enable us to specify some of our variables with greater precision and because they provide classificatory devices for some of our research findings.

Closely related to these maps of human characteristics have been the many contributions over the past 25 years in the development of *tests and testing procedures*. Workers in educational research have made many advances in the evaluation of student progress toward specific objectives of education. While much of the work has centered on cognitive outcomes of learning, including creativity, some developments have taken place in the evaluation of interests, attitudes, and values. A great deal of work has also been done by educational researchers in the development of more precise instruments for the measurement of a large number of aptitudes, abilities, and specific personality and emotional characteristics.

One more type of contribution that I would regard as methodological has been the development of *instructional procedures*. Programed instruction and computer assisted instruction are two of the more dramatic examples. Other instructional procedures such as those emphasizing inquiry and discovery may also be regarded as methodological contributions.

Undoubtedly, there have been other methodological contributions which might have been cited here. I leave it to my readers to amend this list and to point out important omissions.

Substantive Contributions

By substantive contributions I mean contributions to new ways of viewing a particular phenomenon, new understanding of a particular topic or problem, and new ways of stating the question or problem. Methodological contributions have to do with new procedures and techniques for research while substantive contributions have to do with research which has made a difference in the way we think about education and learning, in the view of a particular educational problem, and, we hope, in the way education goes on in the school or home.

This distinction does not embody a value judgment about which is the more important—methodological or substantive. It is likely that progress in one type is dependent on progress in the other. The development of the electron microscope (a methodological contribution) dramatically affected our understanding of cell tissue and disease (substantive contribution). The development of new measures and statistical techniques (methodological contributions) are likely to be basic to the development of new insights into particular areas of learning and development (substantive contributions).

In what follows, I propose to name a few areas in which I believe certain crucial studies have altered, or are likely to alter, our way of thinking about educational phenomena. I have emphasized those areas most directly concerned with the educational development of the student.

One group of studies has vitally affected our conceptions about the *development of the individual*. During the past 25 years we have gained a great deal in our understanding of developmental sequences through the work of such persons as E. Erickson, A. Gesell, R. Havighurst, and J. Piaget. These studies of developmental sequence, which have emphasized process, are in large part supported by longitudinal research of a more qualitative nature done by workers connected with the Harvard Growth Study, the Berkeley Growth Study, the Oakland Growth Study, and the Fels Institute. While these studies show great individual differences in growth, they do reveal an orderly sequence of development and the great importance of the early years of childhood for much of later development.

Another set of studies has shown us a great deal about the *effects of the environment* on the development of the individual. Perhaps one of the most fundamental distinctions that is emerging is the view of the home as an educative environment with its own curriculum, in contrast to an earlier view of the home as a unit in a socioeconomic or social class status system. The role of parents as models has been studied in some detail by J. W. Douglas and J. Floud; the teaching style of mothers has been investigated by R. Hess and S. Stodolsky; while the language learning in the home has been studied in depth by B. Bernstein, D. McCarthy, and L. Vigotsky. The effect of the early environment on concep-

tual development and intelligence has been studied by M. Deutsch, A. Jensen, J. Mc V. Hunt, and R. Wolf. The effects of parents and the home on attitude formation in relation to the schools has been clarified for us by the work of J. A. Kahl, D. McClelland, and S. Smilansky. Another type of environment that has been studied is the peer group. The work of J. S. Coleman has enabled us to understand some of the effects of the adolescent subculture on the individual student.

Much research has been done on the *predictability of human characteristics*. It has become increasingly evident that school achievement and other characteristics particularly relevant to the work of the schools can be predicted with greater precision than was previously thought to be the case, especially when the home and school characteristics are put in as part of the predictor variables. The work of A. Payne, F. Peters, and L. Tucker bears directly on this problem.

Quite in contrast to the research on the prediction of human characteristics is the work on the *modifiability of human characteristics*. In one sense this is the central task of education and much of our research on education is concerned with this problem. Some of the more crucial studies which seem most pertinent to this problem as it relates to young children have been done by S. Kirk, S. Gray, M. Deutsch, and M. Smilansky.

During the past twenty-five years there has been a tremendous amount of research on a great variety of *teaching methods and instructional strategies*. It had been difficult to see any generalizations emerging from this research until models for the study of instruction, such as those developed by J. Carroll, J. Ginther, and L. Siegel, were available. What appears to be emerging is that a great variety of in-

structional methods yield essentially equal outcomes in terms of student achievement of lower mental processes, such as knowledge or simple skills. Large class, small class, T. V. instruction, audio-visual methods, lecture, discussion, demonstration, team teaching, programed instruction, authoritarian and non-authoritarian instructional procedures, etc. all appear to be equally effective methods in helping the student learn more information or simple skills. This does not mean that each use of an instructional approach is equally good with every other use of the same approach. There is still good and bad teaching, good and bad programed instruction, etc. We need quality-control studies to insure that a particular example of an instructional strategy is of the appropriate quality. However, we are free to use a great variety of instructional methods—if the goal of instruction is the acquisition of information. In contrast to the evidence about the great variety of instructional approaches which are relevant to the learning of information, is the lack of clear evidence about the instructional approaches which are effective in bringing about significant changes in the higher mental processes. While the work of P. Dressel, H. M. Chausow, E. M. Glaser, R. Suchman and others suggests that dialectic (rather than didactic) approaches appear to be more effective in producing changes in higher mental processes, the research evidence is far from complete and convincing on this point.

The effect of *individual differences in learners* has always been one of the central concerns of educators. Much of educational research attempts to bring in individual differences as a major variable in the investigation. Some especially pertinent research on the role of personality in learning has been reported by such workers as T. M.

Newcomb, N. Sanford, S. B. Sarason, and G. G. Stern. Research on the effects of independence vs. dependence in learners has been carried on by C. Houle, C. McCollough, W. J. McKeachie, H. Thelen, and E. L. Van Atta.

During the past quarter of a century a great deal of work has been done on the *principles of learning*. The role of learning cues, student involvement and participation, and reward and reinforcement have been clarified by the work of J. S. Bruner, J. Dollard, E. Hilgard, N. E. Miller, B. F. Skinner, and R. W. White.

As a final area in which I believe crucial investigations have been reported during this period is the work on *sequence in learning*. Especially noteworthy in revealing some of the considerations involved in learning sequences is the research of N. A. Crowder, R. M. Gagne, and B. F. Skinner.

I am sure that my readers will take issue with my classifications of areas of research that have been most significant as well as with the particular work (or researchers) I have named.

In Retrospect

As I indicated earlier, approximately 70,000 studies were listed in the *Review of Educational Research* over the past 25 years. Of these 70,000 studies, I regard about 70 as being crucial for all that follows. That is, about 1 out of 1,000 reported studies seems to me to be crucial and significant, approximately 3 studies per year. It is likely that a somewhat more relaxed criterion would increase the number of studies regarded as crucial by the order of 3 times the present list. I doubt if anyone would increase the list as much as 10 times. Even with the threefold increase, this would mean no more

than 9 crucial studies a year (out of approximately 2,500 per year). Perhaps this is all that we should expect in educational research, and it may be about the level expected in any field of research. However, it is my opinion that we need much more in education, and I am confident that we can get a great deal more if we are willing to make the effort and if the proper research strategies are available to us.

Some Suggestions for the Future

One way in which we can get more and better research is to increase the amount of time available for research. Very few persons in the United States give the largest portion of their time to educational research. Administrative work, teaching, committee responsibilities, speaking engagements, etc. all conspire to reduce the time most of us devote to research. It is possible that the increase in funding of research will enable many of us to buy more time for research, but research is difficult, and there are many tempting distractions. We will devote more of our time to research as we become convinced of the need for research in education, and as we become more fully aware of the contributions that research can make to education. Perhaps this is only another way of saying that as the demand increases, we will find ways of increasing the supply.

Another way in which we can improve the quality of educational research is to improve the qualifications of educational research workers. All of us must constantly seek to upgrade our research competence and ways must be found to provide opportunities for each of us to secure further training as needed. The use of brief training sessions is widespread in most fields of research, and we must find better means of providing such opportunities

in educational research. The pre-session workshops and conferences provided by AERA this year represent a small move in the right direction. We can also improve the quality of educational research workers by improving our graduate training programs. The new grants for training provided by the Office of Education give us an opportunity to attract the best students and to improve our training programs simultaneously. Let us hope that our schools of education will take advantage of both of these possibilities. The increased interest in education and educational research makes it possible to attract to educational research some of the outstanding scholars in other disciplines. We have already seen this taking place. We must find ways of involving our colleagues in other fields in the attack on educational research problems as well as in helping us in the training of our graduate students.

We need advances in our theoretical and conceptual schemes, but it is difficult to do anything directly which will result in improvements in theory and model building. We also need improvements in our research methodology and especially in the training of research workers in the use of research methods. As I have indicated earlier, it is my opinion that we do not lag behind other social sciences in this area. Advances in this area will be beneficial to us all, but I suspect that this is not the direction from which we will secure great increases in the production of crucial research contributions to education.

What is especially needed, in my opinion, is the development of basic new research strategies which are analogous to those which have resulted in the rapid strides made in such fields as medicine, biology, and physics. Some suggestions for this may be found in the article "Strong Inference" by John

Platt in *Science*, October 16, 1964. Platt, in attempting to explain the rapid growth of crucial investigations in molecular biology and other fields, believes that it is the use of strong inference which is responsible. There are several features of the strong inference research strategy that I believe to be most important for educational research.

1. There is a need for a clear map of the present state of the field. Such a map should indicate the most promising alternative pathways for future research as well as the alternatives that have been found to be inadequate or incorrect. Platt points out that in molecular biology the different research groups appear to have worked up trees of knowledge in which they graphically represent the present state of the field and the branches show the pathways that have been most fruitful as well as the ones which have not. In such a scheme the research view of the home environment as a curriculum and instructional approach might be contrasted with the less adequate (for education) research view of the home as a sociological status unit. This paper represents one effort to sketch the nature of such a map (or tree).

2. There is a need for rapid communication throughout the country and world among the researchers dealing with a particular portion of the map. It is claimed that research workers throughout the world in medicine and in some areas of physics and biology are able to get word of important discoveries within 24 hours. I am of the opinion that it takes months for educational researchers to learn about what has been found by other workers and that it takes years before a "discovery" is recognized as such. We need to find procedures for speeding up the communication process and for developing "invisible colleges" in which educational researchers throughout the world can be in close touch

with their colleagues working on closely related problems. We need communication at various stages of the research process, but especially at the stage where each new finding must be related to the overall picture or map.

It is likely that the development of maps and closer communication would do much to discourage research which is a mere repetition of something already clearly determined by previous research. The creation of R and D Centers and Regional Laboratories will probably result in improved maps of the field as well as better communication. The publication of lists of research in progress will help researchers find colleagues currently interested in related problems. The increased use of summer centers, training programs and conferences of educational research workers should do much to bring communication about educational research to the level now found in some of the other fields of research.

3. A major element in strong inference, according to Platt, is the search for crucial ways of asking the question and for research procedures which will yield clearer and more definitive results. He suggests the use of multiple hypothesis procedures and the use of research designs that permit the testing of several hypotheses simultaneously, in contrast with the slower method of taking one hypothesis at a time. Some of the newer developments in research design and multivariate statistical procedures (see Gage, *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, 1963) appear to me to be relevant to this feature of strong inference.

Some Possible Consequences

It is likely that one major result of the use of some of the elements of "strong inference" would be a reduction in the amount of redundant research. There is much repetition in educational research, and this is particularly apparent in any careful scru-

tiny of the research summarized in the *Review of Educational Research* over the past twenty-five years. It is this redundancy that in part explains why there are so few examples of crucial research in the period under consideration.

Another possible effect of strong inference approaches to educational research could be a greater emphasis on the research problems of education rather than the methods of research. Each of us becomes addicted to favorite methods of doing research, and we keep looking for problems to which our methods may be applied. Perhaps we should turn it around and seek the important problems of research and then select the methods we find to be relevant.

It is possible that this way of look-

ing at educational research would help us to view educational research as something which is important in itself. Research would be for "real" rather than for the gaining of points in a rating system related to academic rank, salary, prestige, etc.

Finally, it is to be hoped that the use of strong inference approaches would result in a rapid sequence of fundamental discoveries which could then be supported by further replication and demonstration under a wide range of conditions.

Let us hope that more powerful research strategies will enable us to produce in the next five years at least as many crucial substantive pieces of research as we produced in the last 25 years.

What Do We Know about Learning?

GOODWIN WATSON

The learner himself is, of course, the final object of educational research and analysis—the learner and his interaction with his environment and with what he or others wish him to learn. The social psychologist provides a key link in the behavioral sciences between the contrasting emphases of the sociologist and the psychologist. He tells us how people learn within a social context. Watson here reviews what we know about learning, with special reference to the social context.

What do we really know today about learning? Although no scientific "truths" are established beyond the possibility of revision, knowledgeable psychologists generally agree on a num-

Goodwin Watson, "What Do We Know about Learning?" in *Revolution in Teaching*, ed. Alfred de Grazia and David A. Sohn (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1962), pp. 82-87.

ber of propositions about learning which are important for education. The educator who bases his program on the propositions presented below is entitled, therefore, to feel that he is on solid psychological ground and not on shifting sands.

Behaviors which are rewarded (reinforced) are more likely to recur.

This most fundamental law of learn-

ing has been demonstrated in literally thousands of experiments. It seems to hold for every sort of animal from earthworms to highly intelligent adults. The behavior most likely to emerge in any situation is that which the subject found successful or satisfying previously in a similar situation. No other variable affects learning so powerfully. The best-planned learning provides for a steady, cumulative sequence of successful behaviors.

Reward (reinforcement), to be most effective in learning, must follow almost immediately after the desired behavior and be clearly connected with that behavior in the mind of the learner.

The simple word "right," coming directly after a given response, will have more influence on learning than any big reward which comes much later or which is dimly connected with many responses so that it can't really reinforce any of them. Much of the effectiveness of programed self-instruction lies in the fact that information about success is fed back immediately for each learner response. A total mark on a test the day after it is administered has little or no reinforcement value for the specific answers.

Sheer repetition without indications of improvement or any kind of reinforcement (reward) is a poor way to attempt to learn.

Practice is not enough. The learner cannot improve by repeated efforts unless he is informed whether or not each effort has been successful.

Threat and punishment have variable and uncertain effects upon learning: They may make the punished response more likely or less likely to recur; they may set up avoidance tendencies which prevent further learning.

Punishment is not, psychologically, the reverse of reward. It disturbs the relationship of the learner to the situa-

tion and the teacher. It does not assist the learner in finding and fixing the correct response.

Readiness for any new learning is a complex product of interaction among such factors as (a) sufficient physiological and psychological maturity, (b) sense of the importance of the new learning for the learner in his world, (c) mastery of prerequisites providing a fair chance of success, and (d) freedom from discouragement (expectation of failure) or threat (sense of danger).

Conversely, the learner will not be ready to try new responses which are beyond his powers or are seen as valueless or too dangerous.

Opportunity for fresh, novel, stimulating experience is a kind of reward which is quite effective in conditioning and learning.

Experiments indicate that lower animals (rats, dogs, monkeys) will learn as effectively when they receive rewards of new experience or satisfied curiosity, as they will when the rewards gratify physical desires. Similarly, stimulating new insights have been found to be effective as rewards for the learning efforts of human beings.

The type of reward that results from achievement is the type of reward (reinforcement) that has the highest transfer value to other life situations.

Any extrinsic reward—candy or stars on a chart or commendation—depends on the dispenser. There is no need to strive if the reward-giver is out of the picture. Also, cheating can sometimes win the extrinsic reward. The intrinsic reward system is always present for the learner, and he sees little gain in fooling himself.

Learners progress in an area of learning only as far as they need to in order to achieve their purposes. Often they do only well enough to "get by"; with increased motivation, they improve.

Studies of reading speed show that practice alone will not bring improvement; a person may have read books for years at his customary rate, but with new demands and opportunities he may be able to double that rate.

The most effective effort is put forth by children when they attempt tasks which are not too easy and not too hard—where success seems quite possible but not certain. It is not reasonable to expect a teacher to set an appropriate level for each pupil in a class; pupils can, however, be helped to set their own goals to bring maximum satisfaction and learning.

Children are more likely to throw themselves wholeheartedly into a learning project if they themselves have participated in the selection and planning of the project.

Genuine participation (not pretended sharing) increases motivation, adaptability, and speed of learning.

Excessive direction by the teacher is likely to result in apathetic conformity, defiance, scapegoating, and escape from the whole affair.

Autocratic leadership has been found to increase dependence of members on the leader and to generate resentment (conscious or unconscious) which finds expression in attack on weaker figures or even the sabotage of the work.

Overstrict discipline is associated with more conformity, anxiety, shyness, and acquiescence in children; greater permissiveness is associated with more initiative and creativity.

In comparisons of children whose parents were most permissive in home discipline with those whose parents were most strict (both groups of parents loving and concerned), the youngsters from permissive homes showed more enterprise, self-confidence, curiosity, and originality.

Many pupils experience so much criticism, failure, and discouragement in school that their self-confidence,

level of aspiration, and sense of worth are damaged.

The pupil who sees himself at his worst in school is likely to place little value on study and to seek his role of importance outside the classroom. He may carry through life a sense of being not good for much. He is likely also to feel resentment at schools, teachers, and books.

When children or adults experience too much frustration, their behavior ceases to be integrated, purposeful, and rational. The threshold of what is "too much" varies; it is lowered by previous failures.

Pupils who have had little success and almost continuous failure at school tasks are in no condition to think, to learn, or even to pay attention. They may turn their anger outward against respectable society or inward against themselves.

Pupils think whenever they encounter an obstacle, difficulty, puzzle, or intellectual challenge which interests them. The process of thinking involves designing and testing plausible solutions for the problem as understood by the thinker.

It is useless to command people to think; they must feel concerned to get somewhere and eager to remove an obstruction on the way.

The best way to help pupils form a general concept is to present the concept in numerous and varied specific situations—contrasting experiences with and without the desired concept—and then to encourage precise formulations of the general idea and its application in situations different from those in which the concept was learned.

For example, the concept of democracy might be illustrated not only in national government but also in familiar situations of home, school, church, jobs, clubs, and local affairs. It is best understood when it is contrasted with other power structures

such as autocracy, oligarchy, or *laissez faire*.

The experience of learning by sudden insight into a previously confused or puzzling situation arises when (a) there has been a sufficient background and preparation, (b) attention is given to the relationships operative in the whole situation, (c) the perceptual structure "frees" the key elements to be shifted into new patterns, (d) the task is meaningful and within the range of ability of the subject.

The term "cognitive reorganization" is sometimes applied to this experience. Suddenly the scene changes into one that seems familiar and can be coped with.

Learning from reading is facilitated more by time spent recalling what has been read than by rereading.

In one experiment (typical of many), students who spent 80 per cent of their learning periods trying to remember what they had read surpassed those who spent only 60 per cent of the time on recollection. The students who spent all the time reading and rereading the assignment made the poorest record.

Forgetting proceeds rapidly at first—then more and more slowly. Recall shortly after learning reduces the amount forgotten.

Within twenty-four hours after learning something, a large part is forgotten unless efforts are made to prevent forgetting. A thing can be relearned more quickly than it was learned originally, however, and if it is reviewed several times at gradually increasing intervals, it can be retained for some time.

People remember new information which confirms their previous attitudes better than they remember new information which runs counter to their previous attitudes.

Studies consistently show that individuals who feel strongly on a contro-

versial issue, and who are asked to read presentations of both sides, remember the facts and arguments which support their feelings better than they recall those on the opposite side.

What is learned is most likely to be available for use if it is learned in a situation much like that in which it is to be used and immediately preceding the time when it is needed. Learning in childhood, then forgetting, and later relearning when need arises is not an efficient procedure.

The best time to learn is when the learning can be useful. Motivation is then strongest and forgetting less of a problem. Much that is now taught children might be more effective if taught to responsible adults.

If there is a discrepancy between the real objectives and the tests used to measure achievement, the latter become the main influence upon choice of subject matter and method. Curriculum and teaching geared to standardized tests and programmed learning are likely to concentrate only on learnings which can be easily checked and scored.

The most rapid mental growth comes during infancy and early childhood; the average child achieves about half of his total mental growth by age five.

In the first two years a normal child transforms the "big, buzzing, blooming confusion" of his first conscious experience to organized perception of familiar faces, spoken words, surroundings, toys, bed, clothing, and foods. He differentiates himself from others, high from low, many from few, approval from disapproval. He lays a foundation for lifelong tendencies toward trust or mistrust, self-acceptance or shame, initiative or passivity; and these vitally condition further growth.

Not until adolescence do most children develop the sense of time which is required for historical perspective.

The so-called facts of history—1492, 1776, and all that—can be learned by children but without any real grasp of what life was like in another period or in a different country. Most instruction in ancient, medieval, and even modern history is no more real to children than are fairy tales.

Ability to learn increases with age

up to adult years. The apparent decline is largely the result of lack of motivation. We can coerce children into school activities; adult education is mostly voluntary. Men and women *can*, if they wish, master new languages, new ideas, and new ways of acting or problem-solving even at sixty and seventy years of age.

Technology in the Schools

CHARLES E. SILBERMAN

According to one view, education is the last major "industry" to be automated. Exponents of this view point to the prospects for a technological breakthrough by reviewing the role of technology in the industrial, agricultural, medical, and scientific revolutions. In education the principal "new" technology used by schools is the paperback text, but the technological potential for this, the printing press, has been around for many centuries. Even at that, most schools cling to hardcover texts and scorn the new paperbacks.

In many places experimental and often haphazard use is made of other technology—TV, radio, films, talking typewriters, machine programs, etc.—but none has yet found a significant place in school instruction. The computer is the star of this technology and has been the object of greater investments, interest, and expectation than any other educational commodity. Very likely the manufacturers and sellers of the new hardware will have a profound effect on American education. They represent important segments of the industrial community whose interests in the schools (aside from those of text manufacturers) have been dormant, if not negative. These groups may in the end see to it that larger public investments are made in education—money to purchase their hardware products. Beyond that, they may even be able to improve school instruction. Silberman describes the new technology and the "hardware" and examines its relation to knowledge about teaching and learning, the "software."

"Public education is the last great stronghold of the manual trades," John Henry Martin, superintendent of schools in Mount Vernon, New York,

Charles E. Silberman, "Technology is Knocking at the Schoolhouse Door," *Fortune Magazine*, August, 1966.

recently told a congressional committee. "In education, the industrial revolution has scarcely begun."

But begun it has—slowly, to be sure, but irresistibly, and with the most profound consequences for both education and industry. The past year has

seen an explosion of interest in the application of electronic technology to education and training. Hardly a week or month goes by without an announcement from some electronics manufacturer or publishing firm that it is entering the "education market" via merger, acquisition, joint venture, or working arrangement. And a number of electronics firms have been building substantial capabilities of their own in the education field.

Business has discovered the schools, and neither is likely to be the same again. It may be a bit premature to suggest, as Superintendent Martin does, that "the center of gravity for educational change is moving from the teachers' college and the superintendent's office to the corporation executive suite." But there can be no doubt about the long-term significance of business' new interest in the education market. The companies now coming into the market have resources—of manpower and talent as well as of capital—far greater than the education market has ever seen before. They have, in addition, a commitment to innovation and an experience in management that is also new to the field.

The romance between business and the schools began when the federal government took on the role of matchmaker. Indeed, the new business interest in education is a prime example of Lyndon Johnson's "creative federalism" at work. Federal purchasing power is being used to create—indeed, almost to invent—a sizable market for new educational materials and technologies. Until now, the stimulus has come mainly from the Department of Defense and the Office of Economic Opportunity. But the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided large federal grants to the schools for the purchase of textbooks, library books, audio-visual equipment, etc. It also greatly expanded the Office

of Education's research-and-development activities and gave it the prerogative, for the first time, to contract with profit-making as well as nonprofit institutions.

The most remarkable characteristic of industry's invasion of the education market is that it has been accompanied by the affiliation of otherwise unrelated businesses. The electronics companies have felt the need for "software," i.e., organized informational and educational material, to put into their equipment and have gone in search of such publishing companies as possessed it. Some of the publishing companies, in turn, particularly textbook publishers, have been apprehensive about the long-range future of their media and willingly joined in such auspicious marriages of convenience. As R.C.A.'s Chairman David Sarnoff explained his company's merger with Random House last May, "They have the software and we have the hardware."

The fact is that, as far as education is concerned, neither side has either—yet. In time, the application of electronic technology can and will substantially improve the quality of instruction. Experiments with the Edison Responsive Environment Talking Typewriter suggest that it has great potential for teaching children to read. I.B.M. has been working on the development of teaching systems since the late 1950's and is now selling its "IBM 1500 instructional system" to a limited number of educators for research, development, and operational use. But a lot of problems—in hardware as well as software—will have to be solved before the computer finds wide acceptance as a teaching device. No computer manufacturer, for example, has begun to solve the technical problems inherent in building a computer that can respond to spoken orders or correct an essay written in natural lan-

guage and containing a normal quota of misspellings and grammatical errors—and none has promised it can produce machines at a cost that can compete with conventional modes of instruction.

On the other hand, without the appropriate software, a computerized teaching system results in what computer people call a "GIGO system"—garbage in and garbage out. "The potential value of computer-assisted instruction," as Dr. Launor F. Carter, senior vice president of System Development Corp., flatly states, "depends on the quality of the instructional material" that goes into it. But the software for a computer-assisted instructional system does not yet exist; indeed, no one yet knows how to go about producing it. The new "education technology industry," as Professor J. Sterling Livingston of Harvard Business School pointed out at a Defense Department-Office of Education conference in June, "is not being built on any important technology of its own." On the contrary, it "is being built as a satellite of the Information Technology Industry. It is being built on the technology of information processing, storage, retrieval, transmission, and reduction . . . by firms whose primary objective is that of supplying information processing and reproduction equipment and services." And neither these firms, nor the professional educators, nor the scholars studying the learning process know enough about how people learn or how they can be taught to use the computers effectively.

Discovering the Questions to be Asked

That knowledge is now being developed. The attempts at computer application have dramatized the degree of our ignorance, because the computer, in order to be programed, de-

mands a precision of knowledge about the processes of learning and teaching that the human teacher manages to do without. So far, therefore, the main impact of the computer has been to force a great many people from a great many different disciplines to study the teaching process; they are just beginning to discover what questions have to be asked to develop the theories of learning and of instruction they need.

In time, to be sure, both the hardware and the software problems will be solved, and when they are, the payoff may be large. It will come, however, only to those able to stay the course. And the course will be hard and long—five years, under the most optimistic estimate, and more probably ten or fifteen years. Anyone looking for quick or easy profits would be well advised to drop out now. Indeed, the greatest fear firms like I.B.M. and Xerox express is not that someone may beat them to the market, but that some competitor may rush to market too soon and thereby discredit the whole approach. A number of firms—several with distinguished reputations—did precisely that five years or so ago when they offered shoddy programs to the schools and peddled educationally worthless "teaching machines" and texts door to door.

A lot more is at stake, needless to say, than the fortunes of a few dozen corporations, however large. The new business-government thrust in education, with its apparent commitment to the application of new technologies, is already changing the terms of the debate about the future of American education, creating new options and with them, new priorities. "We have been dealt a new set of cards," Theodore R.Sizer, dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Education, has remarked, "and we must learn how to play with them."

Rarely have U.S. corporations assumed a role so fraught with danger for the society, as well as for themselves, or so filled with responsibility and opportunity. For over the long run, the new business-government thrust is likely to transform both the organization and the content of education, and through it, the character and shape of American society itself. And the timing could not be more propitious. It is already clear that we have barely scratched the surface of man's ability to learn, and there is reason to think that we may be on the verge of a quantum jump in learning and in man's creative use of intellect. Certainly the schools and colleges are caught up in a ferment as great as any experienced since the great experiment of universal education began a century or so ago. Every aspect of education is subject to change: the curriculum, the instruments of education, the techniques and technology of instruction, the organization of the school, the philosophy and goals of education. And every stage and kind of education is bound up in change: nursery schools; elementary and secondary schools, both public and private, secular and parochial; colleges and universities; adult education; vocational training and rehabilitation.

Failure in the Ghetto and the Suburb

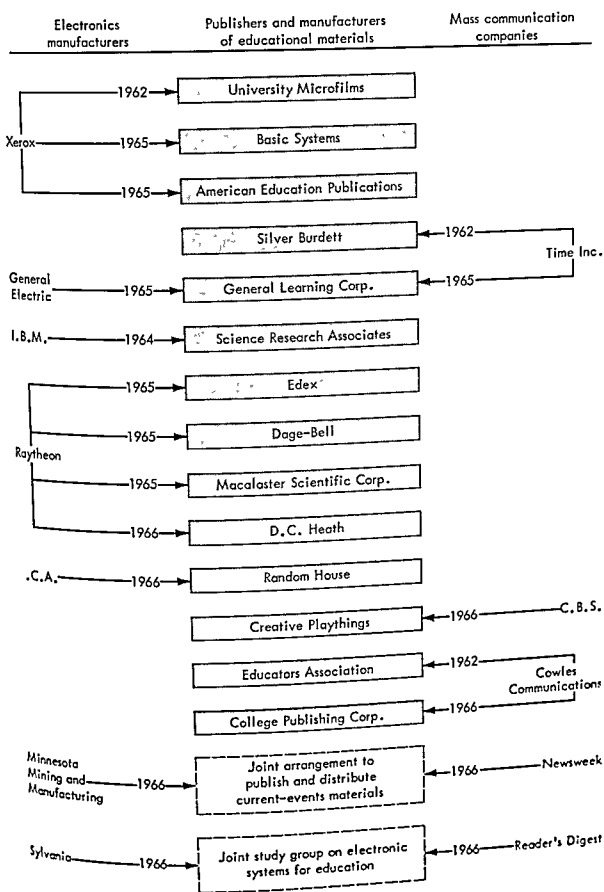
The schools have been in ferment since the postwar era began, with the pace of change accelerating since the early and middle 1950's. Until fairly recently they were so deluged with the sheer problem of quantity—providing enough teachers, classrooms, textbooks to cope with the numbers of students that had to be admitted—that they had little energy for, or interest in, anything else. And now the pressure

of numbers is hitting the high schools and colleges.

It is becoming clearer and clearer, however, that dealing with quantity is the least of it: most of the problems and most of the opportunities confronting the schools grow out of the need for a broad overhaul of public education. For more than a decade, a small band of reformers—among them Jerome Bruner, Jerrold Zacharias, Francis Keppel, John Gardner, Lawrence Cremin, Francis Ianni—have been engaged in an heroic effort to lift the quality and change the direction of public education. Their goal has been to create something the world has never seen and previous generations could not even have imagined: a mass educational system successfully dedicated to the pursuit of intellectual excellence. (See "The Remaking of American Education," *FORTUNE*, April, 1961.)

This effort at reform has two main roots. The first, and in many ways most important, has been the recognition—largely forced by the civil-rights movement—that the public schools were failing to provide any sort of education worthy of the name to an intolerably large segment of the population. This failure is not diffused evenly throughout the society; it is concentrated in the rural and urban slums and racial ghettos. The failure is not new; as Lawrence Cremin and others have demonstrated, public education has *always* had a strong class bias in the U.S., and it has never been as universal or as successful as we have liked to believe. But in the contemporary world the schools' failure to educate a large proportion of its students has become socially and morally intolerable.

At the same time there has been a growing realization that the schools are failing white middle-class children,



too—that all children, white as well as black, “advantaged” as well as “disadvantaged,” can and indeed must learn vastly more than they are now being taught. By the early 1950’s it had become apparent that even in the most privileged suburbs the schools were not teaching enough, and that they were teaching the wrong things and leaving out the right things. Where the schools fell down most abysmally was in their inability to develop a love for learning and their failure to teach youngsters how to learn, to teach them independence of thought, and to train them in the uses of intuition and imagination.

The remaking of American education has taken a number of forms. The most important, by far, has been the drive to reform the curriculum—in Jerrold Zacharias’ metaphor, to supply the schools with “great compositions”—i.e., new courses, complete with texts, films, laboratory equipment, and the like, created by the nation’s leading scholars and educators. This has not meant a return to *McGuffey’s Reader* or “The Great Books,” however. Quite the contrary; the “explosion of knowledge,” combined with its instant dissemination, has utterly destroyed the old conception of school as the place where a person accumulates most of the knowledge he will need over his lifetime. Much of the knowledge today’s students will need hasn’t been discovered yet, and much of what is now being taught is (or may soon become) obsolete or irrelevant.

What students need most, therefore, is not more information but greater depth of understanding, and greater ability to apply that understanding to new situations as they arise. “A merely well-informed man,” that greatest of modern philosophers, the late Alfred North Whitehead, wrote forty-odd years ago, “is the most useless bore on

God’s earth.” Hence the aim of education must be “the acquisition of the art of the utilization of knowledge.”

Reforming the Teachers

It has become increasingly apparent, however, that reform of the curriculum, crucial as it is, is too small a peg on which to hang the overhaul of the public school. For one thing, the reformers have found that it is a good deal harder to “get the subject right” than they had ever anticipated. And getting it right doesn’t necessarily get it adopted or well taught. Five years ago Professor Zacharias was confident that with \$100 million a year for new courses, texts, films, and the like he could work a revolution in the quality of U.S. education. Now he’s less confident. “It’s easier to put a man on the moon,” he says, “than to reform the public schools.”

Reform is impeded by the professional educators themselves, whose inertia can hardly be imagined by anyone outside the schools, as well as by the anti-intellectualism of a public more interested in athletics than in the cultivation of the mind. The most important bar to change, however, is the fact that the new curricula, and in particular the new teaching methods, demand so much more of teachers than they can deliver. Some teachers are unwilling to adopt the new courses; the majority simply lack the mastery of subject matter and of approach that the new courses require.

It does no good to reform the curriculum, therefore, without reforming the teachers, and, indeed, the whole process of instruction. Under present methods this process is grossly inefficient. One reason is that so few attempts have been made to improve it in any fundamental way. Without question, the schools would be greatly

insane to insist that every child discover that knowledge for himself; the transmission of knowledge—new as well as old—has always been regarded as one of the distinguishing characteristics of human society; and that means, quite simply, that man cannot depend upon a casual process of learning; he must be “educated.”

He not only must be educated; he *can* be educated—of this there no longer can be any doubt. The studies of the learning process conducted over the past twenty years have made it abundantly clear that those who are not now learning properly—say, the bottom 30 to 50 per cent of the public-school population—can in fact learn, and can learn a great deal, if they are properly taught from the beginning. (These studies make it equally clear that those who *are* learning can learn vastly more.) This proposition grows out of the repudiation of the old concept of fixed or “native” intelligence and its replacement by a new concept of intelligence as something that is itself learned. To be sure, nature does set limits of sorts. But they are very wide limits; precisely what part of his genetic potential an individual uses is determined in good measure by his environment, which is to say, by his experiences.

And the most important experiences are those of early childhood. The richer the experience in these early years, the greater the development of intelligence. As the great Swiss child psychologist Jean Piaget puts it, “the more a child has seen and heard, the more he wants to see and hear.” And the less he has seen and heard, the less he wants—and is able—to see and hear and understand. Hence the growing emphasis on preschool education.

The abandonment of the concept of fixed intelligence requires changes all along the line. The most fundamental

is a new concern for individual differences, which Professor Patrick Suppes of Stanford calls “the most important principle of learning as yet unaccepted in the working practice of classroom and subject-matter teaching.” To be sure, educators have been talking about the need to take account of individual differences in learning for at least forty years—but for forty years they’ve been doing virtually nothing about it, in large part because they have lacked both the pedagogy and the technology.

Now, however, the technology is becoming available—and at a time when there is a growing insistence that the schools *must* take account of individual differences. Indeed, this quest for ways to individualize instruction is emerging as the most important single force for innovation and reform.

In part, the demand grows out of recent research on learning, which has made it clear, as Professor Susan Meyer Markle of U.C.L.A. has put it, that “individualized instruction is a necessity, not a luxury.” In part, too, the demand stems from the conviction, as Lawrence Cremin puts it, that “any system of universal education is ultimately tested at its margins”—by its ability to educate gifted and handicapped as well as “average” youngsters.

The pressure for individualization of instruction is developing even more strongly as a byproduct of the efforts at desegregation of the public schools. Because of the schools’—and society’s—past failures, Negro children tend to perform below the level of the white students with whom they are mingled. They need a lot of special attention and help in order to overcome past deficits and fulfill their own potential. Few schools are providing this help; most educators are simply overwhelmed by problems for which their training and experience offer no guide. And so they tend to deal with the problem in

improved if, as James Bryant Conant and others have suggested, they could attract and retain more teachers who know and like their subjects and who also like to teach. A great deal has been accomplished along these lines in recent years, and the experience suggests some kind of reversal of Gresham's Law: raising standards seems to attract abler people into the teaching profession. But something more is needed: teachers have to know how to teach—how to teach hostile or unmotivated children as well as the highly motivated. Until recently, however, most of the creative people concerned with education have been convinced that teaching is an art which a person either has or lacks, and which in any case defies precise description.¹ Hence their failure to study the process of instruction in any scientific or systematic way. (The collection of banalities, trivialities, and misinformation that make up most of the courses in "method" in most teachers' colleges represents the antithesis of this kind of study.)

Organized to Prevent Learning

To be sure, teaching—like the practice of medicine—is very much an art, which is to say, it calls for the exercise of talent and creativity. But like medicine, it is also—or should be—a science, for it involves a repertoire of techniques, procedures, and skills that can be systematically studied and described, and therefore transmitted and improved. The great teacher, like the great doctor, is the one who adds crea-

tivity and inspiration to that basic repertoire. In large measure, the new interest in the development of electronic teaching technologies stems from the growing conviction that the process of instruction, no less than the process of learning, is in fact susceptible to systematic study and improvement.

Part of the problem, moreover, is that most of the studies of the teaching process that have been conducted until fairly recently have ignored what goes on in the classroom, excluding as "extraneous" such factors as the way the classroom or the school is organized. Yet it is overwhelmingly clear that one of the principal reasons children do not learn is that the schools are organized to facilitate administration rather than learning—to make it easier for teachers and principals to maintain order rather than to make it easier for children to learn. Indeed, to a degree that we are just beginning to appreciate as the result of the writings of such critics as Edgar Z. Friedenberg, John Holt, and Bel Kaufman, schools and classrooms are organized so as to *prevent* learning or teaching from taking place.

The New Concept of Intelligence

The solution, however, is not, as impatient (and essentially anti-intellectual) romanticists like Paul Goodman and John Holt seem to advocate, to abolish schools—i.e., to remove the "artificial" institutions and practices we seem to put between the child and his innate desire to learn. To be sure, the most remarkable feat of learning any human ever performs—learning to speak his native tongue—is accomplished, in the main, without any formal instruction. But while every family talks, no family possesses more than a fraction of the knowledge the child must acquire in addition. It would be

¹ There is nothing wrong with the American school system, William James declared some sixty-seven years ago, in a view still being echoed in academic circles, that could not be cured by "impregnating it with genius." But genius, by definition, is always in short supply.

where the motivation to learn is quite strong. (One survey of industry's use of programed instruction indicated that 69 per cent of the programs used were "job-oriented.") It's a lot harder to specify the "behavior" to be produced, say, by a course in Shakespeare or in American history, and a lot more difficult to sustain the interest of a student whose job or rank does not depend directly on how well he learns the material at hand. And the small steps and the rigidity of the form of presentation and the limitation of response make a degree of boredom inevitable, at least for students with some imagination and creativity.

If programing is used too extensively, moreover, it may prevent the development of intuitive and creative thinking or destroy such thinking when it appears. For one thing, programing instruction seems to force a student into a relatively passive role, whereas most learning theorists agree that no one can really master a concept unless he is forced to express it in his own words or actions and to construct his own applications and examples. It is not yet clear, however, whether this defect is inherent in the concept of programing or is simply a function of its present primitive state of development. A number of researchers are trying to develop programs that present material through sound and pictures as well as print, and require students to give an active response in a variety of ways—e.g., drawing pictures or diagrams, writing whole sentences. Donald Cook, manager of the Xerox education division's applied-research department, has experimented with programs to teach students how to listen to a symphony. And Professor Richard Crutchfield of the University of California at Berkeley is using programed instruction techniques to try to teach students how to think creatively—how to construct hy-

potheses, how to use intelligent guessing to check the relevance of the hypotheses, etc.

Teaching by Discovery

More important, perhaps, the rigidity of structure that seems to be inherent in programed instruction may imply to students that there is indeed only one approach, one answer; yet what the students may need to learn most is that some questions may have more than one answer—or no answer at all. Programed instruction would appear to be antithetical to the "discovery method" favored by Bruner, Zacharias, and most of the curriculum reformers. This is a technique of inductive teaching through which students discover the fundamental principles and structures of each subject for themselves. Instead of telling students why the American colonists revolted against George III, for example, a history teacher using "the discovery method" would give them a collection of documents from the period and ask them to find the cause themselves.

The conflict between programed instruction and the discovery method may be more apparent than real. At the heart of both (as well as of the "Montessori method") is a conception of instruction as something teachers do for students rather than to them, for all three methods approach instruction by trying to create an environment that students can manipulate for themselves. The environment may be the step-by-step presentation of information through programed instruction; it may be the source documents on the American Revolution that students are asked to read and analyze, but that someone first had to select, arrange, and try out; it may be the assortment of blocks, beads, letters, numbers, etc., of the Montessori kindergarten.

one of two ways: by ignoring it (in which case either the Negro or the white students, or both, are short-changed); or by putting the children into homogeneous "ability groups," in which case they are simply reseggregated according to I.Q. or standardized test scores. Neither approach is likely to be acceptable for very long. The need is for a system of instruction in which all students are seen as special students, and in which, in Lyndon Johnson's formulation, each is offered all the education that his or her ambition demands and that his or her ability permits.

Corn for the Behaving Pigeon

Enter the computer! What makes it a potentially important—perhaps revolutionary—educational instrument is precisely the fact that it offers a technology by which, for the first time, instruction really *can* be geared to the specific abilities, needs, and progress of each individual.

The problem is how. Most of the experimentation with computer-assisted instruction now going on is based, one way or another, on the technique of "programed instruction" developed in the 1950's by a number of behavioral psychologists, most notably B.F. Skinner of Harvard. Professor Skinner defines learning as a change in behavior, and the essence of his approach is his conviction that any behavior can be produced in any person by "reinforcing," i.e., rewarding closer and closer approximations to it. It is immaterial what reward is used: food (corn for a pigeon, on which most of Skinner's experiments have been conducted, or candy for a child), praise, or simply the satisfaction a human being derives from knowing he is right. What is crucial is simply that the desired behavior be appropriately rewarded—and that it

be rewarded right away. By using frequent reinforcement of small steps, the theory holds, one can shape any student's behavior toward any predetermined goal.

To teach a body of material in this way, it is necessary first to define the goal in precise and measurable terms—a task educators normally duck. Then the material must be broken down into a series of small steps—thirty to 100 frames per hour of instruction—and presented in sequence. As a rule, each sequence, or frame, consists of one or more statements, followed by a question the student must answer correctly before proceeding to the next frame. Since the student checks his own answer, the questions necessarily are in a form that can be answered briefly, e.g., by filling in a word, indicating whether a statement is true or false, or by choosing which of, say, four answers is correct. (Most programmers have abandoned the use of "teaching machines," which were simply devices for uncovering the answer and advancing to the next frame. Programs are now usually presented in book form, with answers in a separate column in the margin; the student covers the answers with a ruler or similar device, which he slides down the page as needed.) If the material has been programed correctly—so the theory holds—every student will be able to master it, though some will master it faster than others. If anyone fails to learn, it is the fault of the program, not of the student. Programed instruction, in short, is a teaching technology that purports to be able to teach every student, and at his own pace.

But teach him what? That's the rub. Most of the applications of programed instruction have been in training courses for industry and the armed forces, where it is relatively easy to define the knowledge or skills to be taught in precise behavioral terms, and

There is general agreement, however, that at the moment, programmed instruction can play only a limited role in the schools. Apart from anything else, it is enormously expensive; the cost of constructing a good program runs from \$2,000 to \$6,000 per student-hour. Because of the costs and the primitive state of the art, Donald Cook believes it inadvisable to try to program an entire school course; programming should be reserved for units of five to fifteen hours of work, teaching specific sets of information or skills that can (or must) be presented in sequence (e.g., multiplication tables or rules of grammar) and whose mastery, as he puts it, offers "a big payoff." In this way teachers can be relieved of much of the drill that occupies so much classroom time; if students can come to class having mastered certain basic information and skills, teachers and students can conduct class discussions on a much higher level.

When the proper limitations are observed, therefore, programmed instruction can be enormously useful, both as a means of individualizing instruction and as a research instrument that can lead to greater understanding of the learning and the teaching processes. It is being used in both these ways at the Oakleaf School in Whitehall, Pennsylvania, just outside Pittsburgh, where the most elaborate experiment in the development of a system of individualized instruction is being carried out under the direction of Professors Robert Glaser, John Bolvin, and C. M. Lindvall of the University of Pittsburgh's Learning Research and Development Center.

The Uses of Feedback

Computers and their associated electronic gadgetry offer ways of remedying some of the obvious defects of pro-

grammed instruction. For example, programs generally involve only one sense—sight—whereas most learning theorists believe that students learn faster and more easily if *several* senses are brought into play. Electronic technology makes it possible to do just that. When a youngster presses one of the keys on the Edison Responsive Environment's Talking Typewriter, the letter appears in print in front of him, while a voice tells him the name of it. When he has learned the alphabet, the machine will tell him—aurally—to type a word; the machine can be programmed so that the student can depress only the correct keys, in correct order. And at Patrick Suppes' Computer-Based Mathematics Laboratory at Stanford University, students using earlier versions of I.B.M.'s new 1500 Computer-Assisted Instructional System receive instructions or information aurally (through prerecorded sound messages) or visually (through photographs, diagrams, or words and sentences that are either projected on a cathode-ray tube or presented in conventional typewritten form). Students may respond by typing the answer, by writing on the cathode-ray tube with an electronic "light pen," or by pushing one of several multiple-choice buttons.

To be sure, the 1500 system is still experimental—wide commercial application is five years away—and much richer and far more flexible "environments" are necessary to make the computer a useful teaching device. But computer manufacturers are confident that they can come up with wholly new kinds of input and output devices.

What makes the computer so exciting—and potentially so significant—is its most characteristic attribute, feedback, i.e., its ability to modify its own operation on the basis of the information fed into it. It is this that opens up the possibility of responding to each

working on information retrieval knows through hard (and sometimes bitter) experience.

Thoughts in a Marrow Bone

The biggest obstacle to the introduction of computer-assisted instruction is not technological; it is our ignorance about the process of instruction. Significant progress has been made, however, in identifying what needs to be known before a theory of instruction can be developed. It is clear, for example, that any useful theory must explain the role of language in learning and teaching—including its role in preventing learning. It is language, more than anything else, that distinguishes human from animal learning; only man can deal with the world symbolically and linguistically. But verbalization is not the only way people learn or know, as Jerome Bruner of Harvard emphasizes. We know things “enactively,” which is to say, in our muscles. Children can be very skillful on a seesaw without having any concept of what it is and without being able to represent it by drawing a balance beam (the use of imagery) or by writing Newton’s law of movements (symbolic representation). Present teaching methods, Bruner argues, place too much emphasis on the verbal—a fact he likes to illustrate by quoting these magnificent lines from Yeats:

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The result is that youngsters too often display great skill in using words that describe words that describe words, with no real feel for, or image of, the concrete phenomenon itself.

Knowing something, moreover, in-

volves at least two distinct processes. The first is memory, the ability to recall the information or concept on demand; and the second is what learning theorists call “transfer,” i.e., the ability not only to retrieve the knowledge that is in the memory but to apply it to a problem or situation that differs from the one in which the information was first acquired. We know somewhat more about memory, and recent discoveries in molecular biology hold the promise of vast gains in our understanding of it and our ability to improve it. (See “Inside the Molecules of the Mind,” *FORTUNE*, July 1, 1966.)

Most learning theorists, however, believe that transfer is more important than memory, and that the degree of transfer a student develops depends on how, as well as what, he was taught. For transfer involves a number of specific and distinct traits or skills. A person must be able to recognize when a problem is present. He must be able to arrange problems in patterns—to see that each problem is not entirely unique but has at least some elements in common with other problems he has solved in the past. He must have sufficient internal motivation to want to solve the problem, and enough self-discipline to persist in the face of error. He must know how to ask questions and generate hypotheses, and how to use guessing and first approximations to home in on the answer. There is reason to think that these skills can be taught. In any case, we must know far more than we do now about both memory and transfer before we can develop the theory of instruction needed to program computers effectively.

Besides that, we need to know more about how the way material is presented—for example, the sequence, size of steps, order of words—affects learning. And we need to understand how to make children—all children—want

to learn. We need to know how to make children coming from "intellectually advantaged" as well as "disadvantaged" homes regard school learning as desirable and pleasurable. The problem is larger than it may seem, for there is a deep strain of anti-intellectualism running through American life. The notion that intellectual activity is effete and effeminate takes hold among boys around the fifth grade, and becomes both deep and widespread in the junior-high years, when youngsters are most susceptible to pressure from their peers. (Curiously enough, the notion that intellectual activity is unfeminine sets in among girls at about the same age.) We need to know how to overcome these widespread cultural attitudes, as well as the emotional and neurological "blocks" that prevent some youngsters from learning at all. And we must understand far better than we now do how different kinds of rewards and punishments affect learning.

Interestingly enough, one of the greatest advantages the computer possesses may well be its impersonality—the fact that it can exhibit infinite patience in the face of error without registering disappointment or disapproval—something no human teacher can ever manage. These qualities may make a machine superior to a teacher in dealing with students who have had a record of academic failure, whether through organic retardation, emotional disturbance, or garden-variety learning blocks. The impersonality of the machine may be useful for average or above-average children as well, since it increases the likelihood that a youngster may decide to learn to please himself rather than to please his parents or teachers. And motivation must become "intrinsic" rather than "extrinsic" if children are to develop their full intellectual capacity.

There is reason to think that we

may need a number of theories of learning and instruction. For one thing, the process of learning probably differs according to what it is that is being learned. As the Physical Science Study Committee put it in one of its annual reports, "We have all but forgotten, in recent years, that the verb 'to learn' is transitive; there must be some thing or things that the student learns." Unless that thing seems relevant to a student, he will have little interest in learning it (and he will derive little or no reward from its mastery). In any case, different subjects—or different kinds of students—may require different methods of instruction; a method that works wonderfully well in teaching physics may not work in teaching the social sciences.

More important, perhaps, different kinds of students may require different teaching strategies. It is only too evident that methods that work well with brighter-than-average upper-middle-class families fail dismally when used with children, bright or dull, from a city or rural slum. And differences in income and class are not the only variables; a student's age, sex, ethnic group, and cultural background all affect the way his mind operates as well as his attitude toward learning. Differences in "cognitive style" may also have to be taken into account—for example, the fact that some people have to see something to understand it, while others seem to learn more easily if they hear it.

What Knowledge Is Worth Most?

When adequate theories of instruction have been developed, the new educational-system designers will have to decide what it is that they want to teach. That decision cannot be made apart from most fundamental decisions about values and purpose—the values

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Thoughts in a Marrow Bone

The biggest obstacle to the introduction of computer-assisted instruction is not technological; it is our ignorance about the process of instruction. Significant progress has been made, however, in identifying what needs to be known before a theory of instruction can be developed. It is clear, for example, that any useful theory must explain the role of language in learning and teaching—including its role in preventing learning. It is language, more than anything else, that distinguishes human from animal learning; only man can deal with the world symbolically and linguistically. But verbalization is not the only way people learn or know, as Jerome Bruner of Harvard emphasizes. We know things "enactively," which is to say, in our muscles. Children can be very skillful on a seesaw without having any concept of what it is and without being able to represent it by drawing a balance beam (the use of imagery) or by writing Newton's law of movements (symbolic representation). Present teaching methods, Bruner argues, place too much emphasis on the verbal—a fact he likes to illustrate by quoting these magnificent lines from Yeats:

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Knowing something, moreover, in-

volves at least two distinct processes. The first is memory, the ability to recall the information or concept on demand; and the second is what learning theorists call "transfer," i.e., the ability not only to retrieve the knowledge that is in the memory but to apply it to a problem or situation that differs from the one in which the information was first acquired. We know somewhat more about memory, and recent discoveries in molecular biology hold the promise of vast gains in our understanding of it and our ability to improve it. (See "Inside the Molecules of the Mind," *FORTUNE*, July 1, 1966.)

Most learning theorists, however, believe that transfer is more important than memory, and that the degree of transfer a student develops depends on how, as well as what, he was taught. For transfer involves a number of specific and distinct traits or skills. A person must be able to recognize when a problem is present. He must be able to arrange problems in patterns—to see that each problem is not entirely unique but has at least some elements in common with other problems he has solved in the past. He must have sufficient internal motivation to want to solve the problem, and enough self-discipline to persist in the face of error. He must know how to ask questions and generate hypotheses, and how to use guessing and first approximations to home in on the answer. There is reason to think that these skills can be taught. In any case, we must know far more than we do now about both memory and transfer before we can develop the theory of instruction needed to program computers effectively.

Besides that, we need to know more about how the way material is presented—for example, the sequence, size of steps, order of words—affects learning. And we need to understand how to make children—all children—want

to learn. We need to know how to make children coming from "intellectually advantaged" as well as "disadvantaged" homes regard school learning as desirable and pleasurable. The problem is larger than it may seem, for there is a deep strain of anti-intellectualism running through American life. The notion that intellectual activity is effete and effeminate takes hold among boys around the fifth grade, and becomes both deep and widespread in the junior-high years, when youngsters are most susceptible to pressure from their peers. (Curiously enough, the notion that intellectual activity is unfeminine sets in among girls at about the same age.) We need to know how to overcome these widespread cultural attitudes, as well as the emotional and neurological "blocks" that prevent some youngsters from learning at all. And we must understand far better than we now do how different kinds of rewards and punishments affect learning.

Interestingly enough, one of the greatest advantages the computer possesses may well be its impersonality—the fact that it can exhibit infinite patience in the face of error without registering disappointment or disapproval—something no human teacher can ever manage. These qualities may make a machine superior to a teacher in dealing with students who have had a record of academic failure, whether through organic retardation, emotional disturbance, or garden-variety learning blocks. The impersonality of the machine may be useful for average or above-average children as well, since it increases the likelihood that a youngster may decide to learn to please himself rather than to please his parents or teachers. And motivation must become "intrinsic" rather than "extrinsic" if children are to develop their full intellectual capacity.

There is reason to think that we

may need a number of theories of learning and instruction. For one thing, the process of learning probably differs according to what it is that is being learned. As the Physical Science Study Committee put it in one of its annual reports, "We have all but forgotten, in recent years, that the verb 'to learn' is transitive; there must be some thing or things that the student learns." Unless that thing seems relevant to a student, he will have little interest in learning it (and he will derive little or no reward from its mastery). In any case, different subjects—or different kinds of students—may require different methods of instruction; a method that works wonderfully well in teaching physics may not work in teaching the social sciences.

More important, perhaps, different kinds of students may require different teaching strategies. It is only too evident that methods that work well with brighter-than-average upper-middle-class families fail dismally when used with children, bright or dull, from a city or rural slum. And differences in income and class are not the only variables; a student's age, sex, ethnic group, and cultural background all affect the way his mind operates as well as his attitude toward learning. Differences in "cognitive style" may also have to be taken into account—for example, the fact that some people have to see something to understand it, while others seem to learn more easily if they hear it.

What Knowledge Is Worth Most?

When adequate theories of instruction have been developed, the new educational-system designers will have to decide what it is that they want to teach. That decision cannot be made apart from most fundamental decisions about values and purpose—the values

of the society as well as the purpose of education. What we teach reflects, consciously or unconsciously, our concept of the good life, the good man, and the good society. Hence "there is no avoiding the question of purpose," as Lawrence Cremin insists. And given the limited time children spend in school and the growing influence of other educational agencies, there is no avoiding the question of priorities—deciding what knowledge is of most worth.

The answers will be very much affected by the new electronic technologies. Indeed, the computer will probably force a radical reappraisal of educational content as well as educational method, just as the introduction of the printed book did. When knowledge could be stored in books, the amount of information that had to be stored in the human brain (which is to say, committed to memory) was vastly reduced. The "anti-technologists" of antiquity were convinced that the book, by downgrading memory, could produce only a race of imbeciles. "This discovery of yours," Socrates told the inventor of the alphabet in the *Phaedrus*, "will create forgetfulness in the learners' souls, because they will not use their memories; they will trust to the external written characters and not remember of themselves . . . They will appear to be omniscient and will generally know nothing."

The computer will enormously increase the amount of information that can be stored in readily accessible form, thereby reducing once again the amount that has to be committed to memory. It will also drastically alter the role of the teacher. But it will not replace him; as some teaching-machine advocates put it, any teacher who can be replaced by a machine deserves to be. Indeed, the computer will have considerably less effect on teachers

than did the book, which destroyed the teacher's monopoly on knowledge, giving students the power, for the first time, to learn in private—and to learn as much as, or more than, their masters. The teaching technologies under development will change the teacher's role and function rather than diminish his importance.

Far from dehumanizing the learning process, in fact, computers and other electronic and mechanical aids are likely to *increase* the contact between students and teachers. By taking over much—perhaps most—of the rote and drill that now occupy teachers' time, the new technological devices will free teachers to do the kinds of things only human beings can do, playing the role of catalyst in group discussions and spending far more time working with students individually or in small groups. In short, the teacher will become a diagnostician, tutor, and Socratic leader rather than a drillmaster—the role he or she is usually forced to play today.

The Decentralization of Knowledge

In the long run, moreover, the new information and teaching technologies will greatly accelerate the decentralization of knowledge and of education that began with the book. Because of television and the mass media, not to mention the incredible proliferation of education and training courses conducted by business firms and the armed forces, the schools are already beginning to lose their copyright on the word education. We are, as Cremin demonstrated in *The Genius of American Education*, returning to the classic Platonic and Jeffersonian concepts of education as a process carried on by the citizen's participation in the life of his community. At the very least, the schools will have to take account

of the fact that students learn outside school as well as (and perhaps as much as) in school. Schools will, in consequence, have to start concentrating on the things they can teach best.

New pedagogies and new technologies will drastically alter the internal organization of the school as well as its relation to other educational institutions. Present methods of grouping a school population by grade and class, and present methods of organization within the individual classroom, are incompatible with any real emphasis on individual differences in learning. In the short run, this incompatibility may tend to defeat efforts to individualize instruction. But in the long run, the methods of school and classroom

organization will have to accommodate themselves to what education will demand.

In the end, what education will demand will depend on what Americans, as a society, demand of it—which is to say, on the value we place on knowledge and its development. The potential seems clear enough. From the standpoint of what people are already capable of learning, we are all “culturally deprived”—and new knowledge about learning and new teaching technologies will expand our capacity to learn by several orders of magnitude. “Our chief want in life,” Emerson wrote, “is someone who will make us do what we can.”

Automation—Past, Present, and Future

THOMAS J. WATSON, JR.

The chairman of the board of IBM, one of the largest of the educational technology producers, discusses his own views on educational automation.

I want to talk to you about some of the positives and negatives of my particular job and some of my convictions and beliefs on the general subject of automation. You may applaud, you may disagree violently. But here they are:

First, I believe in the infinite expansion of human knowledge. In this expansion, automation is a powerful asset—possibly the greatest concept since movable type.

Second, I hate inefficiency, waste, featherbedding, and fat, anywhere in

our economy. They are, in the end, thefts from the hungry—from all of us. In their elimination, automation can be a sharp scalpel.

Third, I cheer every increase in productivity—every report that American workers can turn out in an hour more shoes, more trucks, or more wheat than ever before. I believe we can and must increase the rate at which we produce—and export—because our ability to raise world living standards directly affects the advance or retreat of communism. If our system will not begin to alleviate poverty and hunger, the world will try a different approach.

Fourth, I believe in the enlargement

Speech to the National Conference of Editorial Writers, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Oct. 8, 1965.

of constructive leisure. I do not agree with the prediction that the American people can conquer any enemy and overwhelm every challenge except spare time.

Fifth, I believe that in the next few years you will see a number of things happen in America, all connected with automation, and most of them good. Here are just a few:

Paralleling the advance of automation, the educational level of the American work force will continue its relentless rise. I have seen it myself in IBM. In our domestic plants and sales force and headquarters, one person in three has graduated from college. One out of two has either a college degree or some college credits. In the past five years, the number of college graduates has gone up 87 per cent. And it is going to keep on that way. In about five years, for the first time in history, half our adult population in the United States will have at least a high school diploma; one adult American in ten will have a college degree.

In the next few years, electronic machines will enter American classrooms on a grand scale—a welcome, liberating, and strengthening ally to the teachers of our children. Students will sit at terminals—typewriter keyboards, TV screens, and other devices—wired to computers which may be thousands of miles away. Professors, of course, will have organized the course material in the computer. It will ask the questions, say yes or no to the student's answer, analyze it, and lead him step-by-step deeper and deeper into the subject matter at his own personal, individual pace—not the standard impersonal pace of a class of 40 or 200—too fast for some and painfully slow for the gifted. And what's in it for the teacher? Freedom from drill and drudgery. More time than ever before to plan new approaches to his subject. More knowledge than ever before

about the way each one of his students learns or fails to learn—more time for creativity, imagination, challenge to youth.

In the next few years, advancing technology, including computers, will make possible seven-league strides forward in the well-being of the individual. Just one example: The widespread use of central banks of medical records with terminals in hundreds of hospitals and physicians' offices will instantaneously give a doctor or a nurse a patient's entire medical history, eliminating both guesswork and bad recollection and sometimes making a difference between life and death.

In the next few years, technology itself will need a new speedometer for its ever-quickenning pace, spurred by more and more knowledge networks, like the one which now offers the power of a central computer complex at MIT to scholars at fifty-one other universities throughout New England. From an industrial economy, in which most people work producing goods, through our present service economy, producing services, we shall more and more become—the first in the world's history—a knowledge economy, with 50 per cent or more of our work force involved in the production of information.

To be sure, there are some negatives: temporary displacement, the need for re-education, fewer and fewer demands for bellboys and cooks. But these are small burdens to bear when one thinks of the over-all benefits to the economy and to all of us. I deplore the poverty we have in this country and am fully in accord with the Administration's program to alleviate it, but without our technological ability, we would have more, not less.

Of course, in the face of fast change, we all sometimes yearn for the good old days of small government and

simple living, with a slower pace. Perhaps like many of you, I wish we could resolve every knotted problem with a quick and easy, black or white answer—like ban the bomb or drop the bomb. But I have come to the conclusion that, unhappily, both the nostalgia and the easy answer are futile wastes of time. We shall never go back, nor would we really want to. We live in the most exciting period in history.

And despite all our difficulties, in the long run—and I emphasize that—I have faith in two things: One is the beneficence of machines. The other is the perfectibility of human beings.

We cannot live without technological advance; it is, on balance, an overwhelming force for good in the world. So we must learn to live with it. And to do so means to wrestle and continue to wrestle with these and other rough, tough problems on and on into the far future. We have no other choice.

Now as we face these problems, I think every one of us can see many rays of light at the end of the tunnel—more creature comforts, more leisure time for reading or fishing, more goods and services, more knowledge for ourselves and our children. Moreover, I am sure each one of us has one particular ray of hope which shines brighter than all the rest. Let me give you mine.

To me, the great promise of the thing we call automation is that it may help us solve one overriding global problem. Today, nearly one-third of the world is hungry. Men still face the age-old problem of scarcity—of a grinding poverty which more and more splits the top half of the globe from the bottom half.

Agricultural experts say it takes at least two acres on the average to support one person. Pakistan has for each person exactly six-tenths of an acre.

India has about the same; its population is growing by more than ten million a year, while its acreage is increasing by not one inch. In land-deficient Asia, millions are on the verge of starvation. The United States, in contrast, has more than three acres per person, plus the technology to get the most out of its soil.

But I cannot leap from these few facts to a conclusion that the Day of Judgment is at hand, that immortal machines will rule the world, and that people should start planning sanctuaries for the human species like wild-life refuges.

A machine could never conceive even the rude elements of the Magna Carta or the Constitution of the United States of America.

A machine will never learn to contemplate a sunset, respond as live men and women and even children have responded to Hamlet or a Beethoven symphony or the promise of a better life. I do not need to tell you, of all people, that the introduction of automation creates enormous problems, some of them real, clear, present, and painful.

No panacea exists. We have to keep chipping away at answers.

What can help these people better their lives? Knowledge? For millions upon millions of them the principal door to knowledge—the written word—is a door slammed shut. At last count, for example, illiteracy in Ecuador totaled 69 per cent, in India 72 per cent, in the United Arab Republic 74 per cent, and so on.

These people are poor. They can't write and read. And what hope can they have for either more goods or more literacy?

The answer is, under present conditions, "not much."

Moreover, more and more the rich industrialized nations of the North

are pulling away from the impoverished peoples of the South. At the outset, of course, the rich nations are almost out of sight: the United States for example, has a per capita product of more than \$3000, Germany of nearly \$1700, the EEC countries of \$1400. In contrast, Brazil has \$348, Guatemala \$185, India \$83, Pakistan \$80.

Between 1958 and 1962, product per capita increased 11 per cent in the United States, 17 per cent in France, and 22 per cent in the Federal Republic of Germany. In those same years, per capita product went up less than 10 per cent in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ecuador, Mexico, and Turkey.

This evidence leads to one clear conclusion: the rich are getting richer, the poor are getting poorer.

Technology, so highly developed in the West, may indeed be the principal force in opening that gap. But technology can also be the ultimate weapon in closing it, and close it we must.

We have tried nearly everything else.

We have tried capital, beginning with the Marshall Plan. We have sent abroad in foreign aid approximately a hundred billion dollars. It worked in Europe because the people there had the education and experience and skill to make it work. But it has failed to make new Europes out of South America and Africa and Asia—continents where technical experts are rarer than diamonds.

Why hasn't it worked a transformation? For one simple reason:

The plain fact is that we don't have

enough people to do this job. The United States of America, no matter how rich and powerful it is, could never recruit a Peace Corps or anything else big enough to take on this task.

All this history leads me to one conclusion: In the years ahead of us we've got to figure out some way to bring the power of the new machines into the fight, to wheel the arts of automation into the front lines of the battle against ignorance and scarcity and poverty and disease around the world.

We cannot build a great society in the United States with a sea of deprivation about us, nor is this the President's intention. My one great hope is that we can unite the two worlds through a sharing of our technology.

Our own technical leaps forward—which have carried us from bomber to missile, from our planet to the moon and Mars—give us solid grounds for that hope.

"How shall he become wise," asks the book of Ecclesiasticus, "that holdeth the plow, that glorieth in the shaft of the goad, that driveth oxen. . . . He will set his heart upon turning his furrows; and his wakefulness is to give his heifers their fodder. . . . So is every artificer and workmaster."

Since Eden, most men on earth have known nothing else.

My greatest faith is that in our time through technology—technology now understood—we are on the verge of liberating man from that kind of grinding bondage.

Realistic Vistas for the Poor

BRENDAN SEXTON

Significant new areas for research and development, outside the classroom and the teacher-pupil relationship, are being opened. Sexton suggests changing power relations in schools and other social institutions by including hitherto unrepresented people both in governing boards and in bureaucracies. He also describes a new role for higher education and a new approach to the certification of professionals.

The charge that institutions created to serve the poor have, on the whole, failed them is now widely acknowledged. The need for "institutional change" is emphasized by almost every orator and writer who addresses the subject of poverty.

The agitation for change is highlighted in demands for "involvement of the poor" at the governing board level in the administration of community action programs seeking support from the government's Office of Economic Opportunity; and Harlem's Representative Adam Clayton Powell and others press the demand in tones suggesting that its fulfillment automatically will make the programs more responsive to the needs of poor people.

The thesis that involvement of the poor at this level and in this way will lead to institutional change could well be a disappointing illusion. Uncomfortable and unsettled as they are likely to be in the company of middle-class people, and unskilled in the arts of articulation and parliamentary maneuvering, poor people selected for board membership may be captured by middle-class associates who take the

trouble to cultivate them, or be terrorized into silence because of feelings of inferiority that may grow as they compare their own limited skills with the middle-class verbalists who will surround them at meetings.

Representatives of civil rights groups who often serve well as spokesmen for the poor, are, more often than not, really members of the middle class. A small number of articulate poor people—Negro and white—may be drawn from unions, especially in the service trades, but their number is not likely to be large.

Yet, if their membership on policymaking and governing boards is to have meaning, the poor must be skilled articulators and negotiators, since the rationale for placing them there is that their perception of problems will differ from that of the ordinary middle-class person—and perhaps especially from that of the social service professional. If the poor cannot persuasively argue for their points of view, they cannot affect the policies of community action programs, and if they cannot affect policy, their presence will serve only as misleading "window dressing."

Board membership in large institu-

Brendan Sexton, "Realistic Vistas for Social Change," *The Progressive*, October, 1965.

tions, in any case, is often only ceremonial and sometimes irrelevant. The professionals who run institutions almost always "consult with the board," but consultation as often as not occurs at meetings for which professionals draw up agendas and write reports on which boards act; and when boards adjourn it is the professionals who decide how the adopted resolutions are to be interpreted and applied in action.

Given these circumstances, it is unlikely that poor people who sit as board members of large agencies will, in the near future, be able to find their way through the protective maze that even benevolent ruling cliques and bureaucracies always erect against "outside interference."

A more promising means of entry by the poor into community action programs as well as into various other public and quasi-public institutions is through the introduction of "non-professionals" as paid workers, and the creation of realistic training programs that will enable non-professionals to participate effectively and progress up through the ranks of the agencies where they are employed.

Non-professionals recruited from the ranks of the poor and working in close contact with sympathetic professionals can do much more to influence daily routines of public institutions than can a few poor people sitting at the board level among policy-makers. They can, except where met with absolute hostility, begin immediately to help professionals achieve better understanding of the poor, and aid the poor, perhaps, to better understanding of the problems and purposes of the professionals. Their very visibility will in most cases promote readier and more trustful acceptance of institutions by the poor, especially the Negro and Latin poor.

Counselor aides, teacher aides, psychiatric aides, research aides, commu-

nity organizers, block workers, and training aides are now being employed in limited numbers at various places around the country. But except for those who hold degrees when they become aides, few if any are considered as likely candidates for upward movement to jobs at or near the professional level. Their introduction into the system will have little meaning if they are forever confined to jobs on the lowest rungs of employment ladders in agencies, schools, and institutions. Especially among the young, it may be expected that some will either quit in resentment or stagnate in disgust if the way up seems closed to them. Furthermore, if they are permanently confined to the lowest jobs in institutional hierarchies, the sheen of their presence will wear off and the poor may begin to regard the institutions with even greater hostility as they become convinced that persons employed from their ranks serve only as menials and underlings.

Unfortunately, educators, social workers, and other professionals generally seem to think of non-professionals as being suitable only for placement at the bottom, though it is clear that a great many may qualify for advancement if the way up is not blocked by artificial and bureaucratic impediments.

If one regards the employment of non-professionals as only a beginning step in a major effort to reshape institutions, and as a tool to pry open doors through which the poor can enter the economy and the society—the concept can have deep, perhaps even revolutionary, significance for public life in general, but especially for education and social welfare.

Most proposals thus far advanced to "break the cycle" of poverty through individual development call for dispensing more of the same "involvement of the poor" formulas in the

hope that previously ineffective medicines will cure if administered in larger doses. It may be that such larger doses will work, but in many cases we will not know for many years. Certainly few children are likely to be damaged in pre-school programs, nor teen-agers hurt by tutoring—but even if they are helped, the payoff is delayed. To put all our chips on these programs is a large gamble, indeed, and if we settle for them alone, we implicitly abandon hope for those generations of the poor now more than twenty years of age.

The way is now open to experiment with new programs of individual development which can give hope to current generations. No amount of agitation is going to persuade more than the merest handful of high school dropouts to return to school. Working class teen-agers know, if no one else does, that for them employment under reasonably decent conditions is available in the private sector mainly on a seasonal basis—with or without a diploma. Unemployment among teen-agers is about three times as high as the rate for the nation as a whole. As a general rule, when the national rate is around five per cent, about fifteen per cent of the teen-agers will be out of work. Nevertheless, their chances of finding work improve greatly after they pass their twentieth birthday, even without a high school diploma.

The truth is, if all those who need and could be motivated to want learning and training suddenly decided to return to the classroom, we could not find room in schools and universities to accommodate them. But in practice, if indeed not in theory, professionals continue to assert that learning occurs only in classrooms, under academic supervision.

On the other hand, if one considers the problem without commitment to convention or institutions, it is possible, using the concept of the non-

professional as an entering wedge, to think of restructuring much training for professional and near-professional occupations along lines that hold promise of many desirable consequences. Public institutions generally should employ non-professionals at the entry level and begin at the same time to define jobs at slightly higher levels to which the non-professionals can aspire if, in the course of training, they demonstrate to the professionals under whom they work the capacity for increased responsibility. If opportunities for advancement are directly and immediately tied to learning goals—so that the reward for work and study is always within sight and reach—it seems reasonable to assume that large numbers will make the effort to move up.

If one muses a little about the conception, one can imagine a situation in which an intelligent boy is hired into a public school in Harlem as a beginning teacher aide, and without ever returning to formal class situations passes a series of graduated steps, to emerge one day, with the approval of the professionals under whom he has worked, a full-fledged, certified teacher. For such a young man or woman, training and education will occur as he works and earns enough money to support himself. One can believe that development in this way is possible if one also believes that the live workshop and laboratory where learning problems are immediately dealt with under the guidance of skilled professional practitioners is as adequate a setting for training as the college classroom where the retired professional lectures in the abstract about principles which he thinks of, or may remember, as having had some relevance earlier when he practiced his profession.

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Unfortunately, educators, social workers, and other professionals generally seem to think of non-professionals as being suitable only for placement at the bottom, though it is clear that a great many may qualify for advancement if the way up is not blocked by artificial and bureaucratic impediments.

If one regards the employment of non-professionals as only a beginning step in a major effort to reshape institutions, and as a tool to pry open doors through which the poor can enter the economy and the society—the concept can have deep, perhaps even revolutionary, significance for public life in general, but especially for education and social welfare.

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If one muses a little about the conception, one can imagine a situation in which an intelligent boy is hired into a public school in Harlem as a beginning teacher aide, and without ever returning to formal class situations passes a series of graduated steps, to emerge one day, with the approval of the professionals under whom he has worked, a full-fledged, certified teacher. For such a young man or woman, training and education will occur as he works and earns enough money to support himself. One can believe that development in this way is possible if one also believes that the live workshop and laboratory where learning problems are immediately dealt with under the guidance of skilled professional practitioners is as adequate a setting for training as the college classroom where the retired professional lectures in the abstract about principles which he thinks of, or may remember, as having had some relevance earlier when he practiced his profession.

It seems evident that the judgment of professional practitioners, with whom an aspirant has worked, can be

a more reliable index to determine whether he has acquired professional or near-professional competence and qualifies for advancement, than the ability to pass formal and standardized examinations in which what perhaps is most accurately tested is the ability to record and remember for a time the favorite points of the classroom lecturer.

Comprehensive in-service training programs for the poor, organized in this way with professional practitioners participating in the training process and helping to assess the qualifications of candidates for progression, conceivably can help develop a whole new breed of professionals. This new strain, because of cultural background, may in some situations prove more effective than professionals trained in the traditional ways.

Furthermore, the need for welfare and teaching personnel is enormous. The serving professions are in a state of crisis. They cannot possibly meet the needs of an exploding population with the numbers that will be supplied from conventional sources during the next two decades, unless they work in tandem with less well-trained persons who will gradually be assigned more difficult tasks as they demonstrate their competence to assume more responsible functions.

Between 1940 and 1960 the population of the United States grew by 21.6 per cent, from 150.6 million to 183.2 million. But the most dramatic increases occurred in the population over sixty, which rose seventy-three per cent, from 13.7 million to 23.7 million; and in the population under twenty—up 52.3 per cent from 45.3 million to 69 million. Thus the groups which are most dependent upon the serving professions—the young and the old—increased much more rapidly than did the groups between the ages of thirty

and sixty, from whose ranks the practitioners now necessarily must be drawn. The age twenty-to-thirty group, from whose ranks those now in training for work in the professions (at or above the master's degree level) are drawn, actually declined from 22.7 million to 21.6 million.

The arithmetic of population growth and distribution makes it all but impossible to believe that even greatly expanded professional schools will be able, using the conventional training methods, to prepare a large enough number of professionals to keep up with the market's demands. They will not be able to meet the demand for many years, unless they devise ways for increasing the professional's productivity by employing professional-aides to assist the practitioners.

Medicine already has taken long strides in this direction. In large hospitals, many nurses no longer nurse; rather they see to it that the patient is cared for by a nurse's aide. Electrocardiograms, blood and blood pressure tests, much laboratory analysis, and X-ray picture-taking are performed by non-professionals, who now carry out tasks once reserved to the doctor himself. It is still not possible, however, for a young girl to begin as a nurse's aide and, through in-service training and on-site education, become a registered nurse. Few hospitals provide systematized education and training programs to enable non-professionals to move up to jobs higher than "practical nurse."

There is no reason for assuming that such programs cannot work, except perhaps for resistance from professionals who may be uneasy about their status, security, and pay. Non-professionals have an eloquent advocate in Dr. Frank Reissman. He and his colleagues at the Albert Einstein Medical School's department of psychiatry are

doing effective work in the recruitment, placement, and training of non-professionals for community work. Howard University's Center for Youth and Community Services, of which Dr. Jacob Fishman is director, has also pioneered in this field, but the number of professionals who have shown any willingness to accept non-professionals, unfortunately, is not impressive. Professionals seem no less resistant to unorthodox proposals for expansion of their crafts than the most rigid trade-unionists.

Labor unions themselves are a prime example of institutions that have had to use the academically untrained to fill professional and semi-professional jobs, but only rarely have they provided educational programs through which the individual could supplement his in-service training experience. By middle-class standards, shop stewards, business agents, and union presidents may not measure up in manners or language skills, but they have built and administer successful unions. If the term professional has any meaning, surely George Meany, Walter Reuther, I. W. Abel, David Dubinsky, Paul Jennings, and thousands of experienced personnel in labor are as professional as the routine Ph.D.

Business leaders are regarded by many professionals as rigid and inflexible, but they are more likely than is the professional to judge a person by demonstrated capacity rather than caste membership. Thus, General Motors President James M. Roche could rise to that position though his formal schooling ended with the twelfth grade, while a recent predecessor of his, Harlow Curtice, attended school for only about ten years.

Professor S. M. Miller, writing in *The Blue Collar Worker*, reports that Richard Titmus, though a full professor at the London School of Eco-

nomics, and one of the world's leading experts on social welfare programs, would be barred from almost any American university because he does not hold a degree. And no American university has had the will or imagination to find a faculty opening for Eric Hoffer, erudite San Francisco longshoreman, whose writing in *The True Believer* and elsewhere is both more original and graceful than almost anything produced by members of philosophy, political science, or English faculties in this generation.

Professional standards, as now generally arrived at and applied, shelter the drone and the mediocrity from healthy but menacing competition with the original, the creative, the pragmatic "outsider" who would, almost certainly in large numbers, quickly acquire and put to use professional skill—if given an opportunity to enter the professions through unconventional channels. Not that years spent in academia are always wasted, but the requirement of the diploma as now earned is sometimes irrelevant. Anyone having contact with the academic world, for example, knows at least a few brilliant and accomplished men who were dropped from faculties because of their inability or unwillingness to participate in the qualifying rat race for the Ph.D.

Professional standards, if they are to have real meaning, must be articulated and applied by practitioners actively at work in the profession and should be related to the way the professional acts, rather than the tickets he has earned. In the kind of system here envisioned, the aspirant would enter and progress from step to step only as professionals deemed him qualified to do so. At every step his performance would be supervised and monitored by professionals, and thus the professionals would gain a measure of control in

the application of standards that is not now ordinarily granted them.

As to the role of the universities, it would be possible to think of the professional school being moved, at least in part, from campus and classroom to institutional sites, there to design and supervise programs of in-service training, curriculum development, and educational enrichment that will be relevant to the needs of the non-professional.

Universities may fear that the importance of their social role will diminish if such programs are adopted. This need not be true. For one thing, as new avenues of professional development are opened the universities will have alternative routes to suggest to the tens of thousands of frustrated youth who are going to be denied admission in the next two decades. They will be able to detach from the university much low-level training now performed only resentfully and shamefacedly, and can concentrate more intensively on "pure learning." It can be assumed also that they will continue to receive the thousands of young people who choose and can afford to prepare in the conventional ways, and to educate the middle-class students who are not ready to make life-career commitments when they enter college.

Universities can contribute to such a system by building relationships with public institutions similar to those now prevailing at the teaching hospitals. Many large social agencies, public schools, and other public institutions can develop as teaching institutions, with professors of education, social work, and other disciplines playing the same kind of role as the professor of medicine at the hospital. If nothing else happens, much university teaching may, as a result, become more relevant and lively.

In summary, the widespread accept-

ance of the non-professional and the development of means for his progression upwards may beneficially:

Make public institutions more responsive to the poor and to members of minority groups by introducing into the chain of communications—between the servers and the served individuals—those who can speak to and interpret for both groups.

Introduce relatively large numbers of minority group members into *visible, non-menial* employment in schools, social agencies, and civil service, and thereby hopefully ameliorate hostility born in the knowledge of exclusion.

Provide jobs for poor people in the public sector—the fastest growing segment of the economy and the one area in which prospects are bright for long-range and continuing growth.

Raise, and make relevant to the real situation, professional standards, by placing a measure of control of the enforcement of standards in the hands of the active practitioners.

Make it possible for professionals to concentrate on professional tasks by giving them aides to whom they can delegate non-professional aspects of their work.

Make it possible for universities and colleges to give up trying to do what they clearly often are not equipped to do, and thus permit the professor to become a teacher and scholar rather than an ill-equipped trainer.

Make the work of the professionals more challenging and rewarding by introducing the new element of training responsibility into their daily work.

Democratize the professions by making them more responsive to the needs of the whole population, and by giving the practitioners a real voice in the

maintenance of standards and the selection of colleagues.

Provide the professions with the desperately needed manpower without which they will not be able to meet demand in the coming decades.

These are highly desirable potential results that would be of great benefit to society in the future. But of equal importance would be the immediate gain of opening new opportunities to the poor, especially Negroes and other minorities. In maintaining the current rigid system, each day we give fresh

evidence of our inability or unwillingness to open our society to Negroes and members of other minority groups, for many of whom alienation begins in early childhood. At the present rate of entry into the American mainstream, centuries will pass before Negroes and Latin Americans are placed in the professions in numbers proportionate to the population percentages. It is not too much to hope that our professionals will distinguish themselves by acting to democratize their crafts and the institutions they manage—and thus the entire nation.

Public Policy and the Educational Revolution

JAMES BRYANT CONANT

Public policy determines what course the schools will take and what hardware and software will be adopted. Educational innovations may be diffused by other means—by informing and convincing school personnel about the merits of adopting each new product or method—but public policy is, or can be, a governing power center in education; this policy must be changed in order to make profound changes in the schools. Conant, whose influence on the schools has perhaps been greater than that of any other person, discusses the "revolution" in education and the new directions he believes public policy in the schools should take.

All over the world today national governments are considering educational problems in revolutionary terms. These terms differ somewhat from country to country, but the revolutionary basis is much the same in all free, highly industrialized large countries. An influential body of public opinion has become convinced that the nation is suffering from a shortage

of highly educated persons. There is a widespread feeling that much potential talent has been lost because it has not been developed by the schools and the institutions of higher education. Directing attention particularly to engineers and scientists, one can easily demonstrate that such a situation endangers a nation's industrial capacity and may endanger even its military security.

The fact that this concern is so widespread makes it easy to speak of a worldwide educational revolution.

James Bryant Conant, "Public Policy and the Educational Revolution," *Shaping Educational Policy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964), pp. 1-15.

ments of our universities. Some laymen might be inclined to speak of making our schools and colleges more "efficient." By which may be meant either that one able teacher can teach a far greater number of pupils than at present or that a pupil may acquire a certain block of knowledge or develop a given skill more rapidly than in the past. We shall meet both points of view in later chapters. There can be no doubt that the introduction of new methods of teaching has already introduced complications into the American public school picture. *It is my belief there will be more radical changes in the future and this in turn means that our old methods of determining educational policy need drastic revision to meet the impact of the educational revolutions.*

Let me give at this point only two or three illustrations to support my conclusion. In subsequent chapters I shall amplify and expand my thesis that the national concern for education and the revolution in techniques have together made obsolete our past methods of determining educational policy in the United States. Take the high school curriculum, for example. With the exception of certain schools in certain localities, those who determined policy in the 1930s and 1940s were primarily concerned with education for democracy, and placed great emphasis first on the development of those attitudes that were believed essential to citizens of a free society and second on the free development of a wide range of skills among all pupils. The contrast between what was recommended and the old fashioned "purely academic" curriculum was underlined in books and articles by professors of education and forward-looking educational administrators. One could hardly quarrel with this emphasis in a period of our history when free societies were

threatened all over the world. But one consequence was that the content of the academic high schools' curriculum made little difference. This was convenient in a society as geographically mobile as our own. A family could move from one city to another or from one state to another and the children could be placed in a new school with little inconvenience. The educators who were determining public high school policy in those days seemed to have in mind that a real differentiation in the areas of study should be postponed until *after* high school. Time enough when one enters college to concentrate on mathematics beyond algebra or a foreign language or chemistry or physics or a study in depth of American history. I often heard such arguments in the 1940s and even in the 1950s.

Our highly decentralized control of secondary education, with more than 4,000 school boards determining the offerings, is quite incomprehensible to most Europeans (even those who admire our comprehensive high schools). I recall a group of German schoolteachers and administrators expressing amazement that pupils could transfer so readily from one school to another in the United States. An experienced leader of American public school teachers who was taking part in the conversation replied in a half joking manner, "Oh, there are no difficulties with us in the United States, because from your point of view as Germans we don't teach the pupils anything, even in our high schools."

Behind the joke lies a hard core of reality. The people whose efforts made possible the development of the comprehensive high school in this century were not much interested in either foreign languages or in the *early* development of mathematical skills and knowledge. They were interested in

the three R's (though their critics have denied this) and in the development of attitudes favorable to the continuation and improvement of our free society. Thus a common denominator of studies suitable for all types of ability and a variety of ambitions was relatively easily identified. A curriculum in each school which could be identical for all pupils was also a curriculum which could be identical in all schools. Such a curriculum became standard. There was little difficulty in children moving from one school to another until the senior high school was reached.

At the senior high school level the elective principle introduced the required flexibility. Provided the optional courses were the same from one school to another, transfer from one district to another was a matter of little difficulty. To be sure unless a high school is of sufficient size (approximately 300-500 pupils), it is extremely unlikely that a variety of optional courses will be offered. Therefore transfer from large high schools to small high schools has never been as easy as the corresponding shift in the lower grades. Still, by and large until the end of World War II, one might say that the degree of uniformity in school curricula and procedures in grades 1-12 was sufficient so that parental complaints about difficulty of moving from one school to another were the least of the worries of school administrators.

The educational revolution has rapidly changed the situation. Foreign languages are now being taught in the lower grades. This fact introduces complications. One school district may offer French (and only French) in grades 3-8, another may offer only Spanish. When parents move from one district to another, such facts produce unpleasant complications. We

have been proud of our highly decentralized public school system. We have boasted about the flexibility of the system, which allowed for so much independence and experimentation. To date the children have not paid too high a price for this diversity. But I foresee that the time when the revolutionary changes in the school curricula, with increasing emphasis on the sequential subjects—foreign languages and mathematics—will produce so much diversity that the public will demand that some order be restored by one method or another.

The old mechanisms that influenced the growth of the curricula in the public schools are no longer operating as they once did. This fact alone is a challenge to the American public and American educators to consider how to plan for the future. An even greater challenge is that presented by the growth of the advanced placement movement. In a word, this is a scheme by which academically talented students are able to complete freshman college work in the last year in high school. Whether such courses are in the area hitherto considered the preserve of the public school people or whether they are subject to control by subject matter professors (of English or chemistry, for example) can be debated. What is clear is that the old line that separated the high school from college is now a fuzzy transition zone.

I think it is easy to demonstrate that educational policy for our public schools has been largely determined by educators concerned directly with the schools or those who were involved in introducing the teachers to the art and science of teaching. Implementation was often a matter for the chief state school officer and the superintendents of the larger districts. Year books, articles in educational journals,

and such publications as those of the Educational Policies Commission reflected the thinking of the leaders of what I and others have called the "educational establishment." I am not one of the harsh critics of the establishment. Indeed I was a member of the Policies Commission off and on for twenty-two years. In retrospect I think it clear that the educational establishment was not as responsive as it should have been to the changing attitudes of the public toward education. A comparison of the document published by the Policies Commission in 1950 entitled "Education for the Gifted" with the program recommended by a conference on the education of the "Academically Talented" (called by the NEA) in 1958 is instructive. For the *highly* gifted (1 per cent of the population) the commission recommended in 1950 an academic program which the conference in 1958 thought proper for the upper quarter of the high school student body! To be sure, in 1950 the commission had said:

Many *moderately* gifted students could also profit from more social studies, advanced mathematics, and foreign languages in high school; but in their case the need is neither so clear nor so compelling as it is in the case of the highly gifted.

As late as 1958, however, the commission was writing about the education of the gifted as follows:¹

Gifted pupils should be identified early and given early opportunities to challenge their powers and develop their talents to the fullest. . . . In high schools, courses of study should be designed to allow the able students to carry heavier loads in balanced programs which include mathematics, science, and languages, together with English, social studies, and

¹ *The Contemporary Challenge to American Education*, p. 10.

humanities. . . . Advanced courses, however, should not be imposed on students who lack the required talent.

Unfortunately in this document we did not redefine the word "gifted" and therefore left the implication that we were writing about only 1 per cent of the population at a time when the NEA conference came out for a broad, rigorous academic program for the academically talented—some 20 or 25 per cent of the population.

But leaving aside all criticisms of the past, it seems clear that any amorphous unofficial body composed of public school administrators and professors of education is not now well suited to establishing policy for our public schools. I know from my experiences in many committee meetings that it was easy to outline principles for secondary education as long as one focussed attention on "democratic living" and the relation of school to the "world of work." But when it comes to deciding whether or not instruction in a foreign language should be made compulsory in grade 3 and higher and which language, then the organizations of public school people are not in a position to provide helpful guidelines. I conclude therefore that we must consider a drastic alteration in the ways in which educational policy for our public schools is shaped. The next chapter is devoted to a further consideration of this topic.

Education Beyond the High School

On the level of college and graduate schools, the American educational revolution is quite different from the revolution taking place in the public schools. Where post-high school education is concerned, at the moment, public attention is directed to the problem of expanding our post-high school facilities to accommodate the

large increase in potential college students resulting from the baby boom in the 1940s. The national government, recognizing the serious nature of the problem, enacted legislation in December 1963 authorizing loans and grants to aid in the construction of buildings for higher education.²

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development has undertaken a review of national policies for science and education to assist member countries³ reassessing their programs. A review of the United States which was published in November 1963 is primarily concerned with problems of higher education in relation to future demands for scientific and technological manpower. It is a most interesting document and deserves careful attention by all citizens concerned with the welfare of the United States. I shall refer to it more often than once in the pages that follow. In a few pages the authors present

² Section 2 of the Act reads as follows:

The Congress hereby finds that the security and welfare of the United States require that this and future generations of American youth be assured ample opportunity for the fullest development of their intellectual capacities, and that this opportunity will be jeopardized unless the Nation's colleges and universities are encouraged and assisted in their efforts to accommodate rapidly growing numbers of youth who aspire to a higher education. The Congress further finds and declares that these needs are so great and these steps so urgent that it is incumbent upon the Nation to take positive and immediate action to meet these needs through assistance to institutions of higher education, including graduate and undergraduate institutions, junior and community colleges, and technical institutes, in providing certain academic facilities.

³ The member countries of OECD are: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

a concise picture of American higher education. . . . They then write as follows:

The foregoing sketchy outline of American higher education leaves us doubting whether it can be properly called a system. There is, for example, no powerful centralising and unifying force comparable with that in France or Russia or the United Kingdom. Instead, there is competition between many different state and private ventures and which, in the past at least, has served America well. Of course, as we shall see, the extent of federal involvement is immense and growing rapidly. *The question in our minds is whether the solution of the approaching manpower crisis and the further advance of the United States into what we have called the third stage of education development will not require more explicit organising action by state and federal agencies* [italics mine].

A few paragraphs later the opinion is expressed that "the need for expansion which now confronts American higher education will put a severe strain on the nation's resources. . . . The next generation of Americans will experience the first fully developed system of universal higher education. Public funds and publicly led coordination, on at least a state-wide basis, will be added to the past autonomy of separate institutions. The scale of organizations will increase. . . ." And in a later section of the same document, three questions are raised: "How can the educational facilities of the country be expanded to meet the demand? How can the teachers be found? How will the bill be paid and by whom?"

Neither the examiners⁴ who wrote

⁴ The examiners were: Sir John Cockcroft (U.K.), Dr. A. H. Halsey (U.K.), Prof. Ingvar Svennilson (Sweden). The members of the United States delegation included: the Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, an assistant director of the National Science Foundation, an industrialist and two college presidents.

the report nor the American delegation that later discussed it could provide exact answers to these questions. The 100-page pamphlet, however, contains impressive evidence of the educational revolution which is underway in the United States and which in the national interest must not be halted but, through informed public discussion, must be guided into the most effective channels possible.

One might say, of course, the revolution started in the United States at the close of World War II. Each year since then, increasing amounts of federal funds have been spent to support research in both private and public universities. Data (taken from the OECD report) sum up the rapid changes which have occurred since 1948. The Federal funds for research and education have increased from \$95.3 million to \$534.4 million.⁵ The fact that 61.5 per cent of all the Federal funds went to only 20 institutions is an illustration of the kind of problem that must be faced because of the revolutionary expansion of Federal research funds for educational institutions. I shall refer to this and related problems in later chapters.

In engineering, in medicine, as well as in the physical and biological sciences, it is difficult to separate research from education. Therefore Federal support of research on a colossal scale has also amounted in large measure to Federal support of education in scientific fields, particularly at the graduate level. Thus the revolution to which I have referred, which occurred in the late 1940s and early 1950s, might be cited

as evidence of a revolutionary new concern of the United States Government with higher education. The passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958 provided unmistakable evidence of a national concern. And that this is a continuing phenomenon of our time is clear from the legislation passed in December 1963 that I have already mentioned, and the provisions made at the same time for the expansion of the role of the Federal government in the support of vocational education.⁶

... [T]he impact of the educational revolution is such that we must pay more attention to the way our colleges and universities are chartered and our public institutions supported. In some states the transformation of a former teachers college into a state college and later a university may be a matter of political bargaining in the state legislature. The expansion of the present institutions may proceed without rhyme or reason. Only in California and New York have master plans for the development of public higher education been adopted.

The responsibility for shaping educational policy in higher education in this country is shared jointly by the Congress of the United States, the state legislatures, and the trustees of

⁶ Public Law 88-210 authorizes a new permanent program with appropriation for state vocational education programs amounting to \$60 million for fiscal year 1964, \$118.5 million for fiscal year 1965, \$177.5 million for fiscal year 1966, and \$225 million for subsequent fiscal years. Funds would be allotted among the states on the basis of population groups and a per-capita-income factor (equalization). The new funds may be expected for state and local vocational education programs without categorical limitation under a broadened definition of vocational education to fit individuals for gainful employment, embracing all occupations, including business and office occupations not now covered under existing law.

⁵ The Federal agencies which have supplied these funds include the Defense Department, the National Institute of Health, and the National Science Foundation, whose establishment in 1951 marked a turning point in American scientific history and also in education.

private colleges and universities. In most public discussions the role of the Federal government is placed in the foreground, and little is said about the state legislatures. Yet my experiences in the capitals of the sixteen most populous states (which I visited in connection with my study of teacher education) convinced me of the significance of policy making at the state level and the need for evolving some ways of more effective cooperation between the

states. Indeed, this experience and my sense of horror at the disarray I found in a number of large and important states has led to the writing of the present volume. Discussions of shaping educational policy to meet the challenge of the educational revolution need to be more realistic. Citizens in most states should be as much concerned with what goes on in the capital of their state as with what goes on in Washington. . . .